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V. Buyniak

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND GERMAN
WRITERS ON THE EARLY WORKS OF L. N. TOLSTOY

Department of Modern Languages

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The undersigned hereby certify that they have read
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THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND GERMAN WRITERS
ON THE EARLY WORKS OF L. N. TOLSTOY

submitted by Victor Buyniak, B. A., in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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An abstract of

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND GERMAN WRITERS
ON THE EARLY WORKS OF L. N. TOLSTOY

a thesis of 168 pages

by

V. Buyniak

Like many other Russian authors of the XIX-th Century, Tolstoy was influenced by the writers of Western Europe. The Russian novelists and poets of the preceding generations served Tolstoy as models, but his early intellectual development was very largely determined by Western European literary and philosophical ideas.

His works prior to 1861 indicate the influence of French, English, and German writers. In French literature Tolstoy was indebted to Rousseau, Sand, and Stendhal. The English men of letters who influenced him most were Dickens, Sterne, and Thackeray. Auerbach, Goethe, and

Schiller were his German models. Of course, Tolstoy's early works show also the influence of many other authors, ancient and modern, but the latter did not play such an important role in his literary evolution.

On the whole, Tolstoy's novels and stories of this time express his observations, feelings, and ideas, and reflect his own experiences. They are intermingled with the borrowings from his favourite authors whose influence, however, grows weaker toward the end of the period. The early works of Tolstoy, although modelled to a certain extent on French, English, and German writers, clearly reveal his creative genius, and point distinctly to his growing independence.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND GERMAN WRITERS
ON THE EARLY WORKS OF L. N. TOLSTOY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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OF MASTER OF ARTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the middle of the XIX-th Century the Russian novel started to develop into a force of universal importance. The great authors like Gogol, Dostoyevski, Turgeniev, and, to some extent the young Tolstoy, were producing in that time many a masterpiece. However, on the whole, Russian literature, in modern sense, was relatively young in comparison with the literatures of Western Europe. Almost all Russian authors were turning their eyes to ancient writers for inspiration, and still more so to the literary treasures of the West. When, in the middle of the XVIII-th Century, English, French, Spanish, and Italian literatures had attained adult stature, Russian literature, still an infant, had barely begun to form itself through the assiduous endeavours of Michael Lomonosov, who is considered the father of Russian letters.¹ The early Russian authors like Tatischev, Kantemir, Radischchev, Derzhavin, Karamzin, Krylov, and Griboyedov were all to a certain extent influenced either by French or German writers.² The two greatest romantic poets, Pushkin and Lermontov, wrote many masterpieces under the influence of Byron.³ Three of Russia's greatest novelists, the immediate predecessors of Tolstoy, Gogol, Dostoyevski, and Turgeniev traveled to Germany, France,⁴ and Italy, and were indebted to various western authors.

1. Baring, Maurice, An Outline of Russian Literature, Henry Holt & Co., New York, p. 26.
2. Ibid., p. 26 - 45.
3. Spector, Ivar, The Golden Age of Russian Literature, The Caxton Press, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1952, p. 32 and 59.
4. Ibid., p. 116 and 147, also Baring, An Outline..., p. 130.

Famous literary critics Belinski and Herzen were permeated
 with western ideas.⁵

This brief and general review shows that Tolstoy was not the first in Russian literature to turn to the West in his search for models. But we should not forget that at the time when the young Tolstoy was beginning his career as an author there already existed a short but rich tradition in Russian literature, and that he looked to it for inspiration while he was also reading foreign writers. As a child Tolstoy devoured with intense interest Russian popular legends, Pushkin's poems, notably Napoleon, and Pogarevsky's Black Fowl.⁶ An adolescent of nineteen, he avidly read the epics of Russian literature: Gogol's Dead Souls and Tales, Turgeniev's Sportsman's Notebook, Druzhinin's Polinka Saks, Grigorovich's Anton Goremyka, Lermontov's Hero of Our Times, and Pushkin's Eugene Onegin.⁷ Some time later Tolstoy reread with much admiration the poems and biography of Pushkin.⁸ From 1857 to 1859 he perused in his free time among other works Gogol's Letters, Goncharov's Oblomov, Kozlov's Poems, Saltykov-Schchedrin's Death of Pazukhin, and the Correspondence of P. V. Annekov and N. V. Stankevich.⁹ At the same time Tolstoy was also a member of several literary societies and took an active part in Russian social, journalistic, and literary life.

5. Baring, An Outline..., p. 142 and 150.
6. Dole, Nathan Haskell, The Life of Count Lyof Tolstoi, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1911, p. 23.
7. Simmons, Ernest, J., Leo Tolstoy, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1946, p. 56.
8. Ibid., p. 138.
9. Ibid., p. 163.

The purpose of this thesis is to try to determine how, and to what extent, Tolstoy's early works were influenced by French, English, and German authors. In order to limit this subject it is necessary to establish the point in Tolstoy's literary career dividing his beginnings and his maturity as writer. This is by no means easy to do in the case of Tolstoy, who, from the very beginning, was a versatile and ingenious author. However, I decided to take the year 1861 as the turning point in Tolstoy's literary career. All his novels and stories produced previous to that date will be examined for French, English, and German influences.

There are good reasons, both autobiographical and historical, which have led me to choose this date: In April 1861 Tolstoy returned from his last tour to Western Europe and never left Russia again. After his return from abroad he abandoned for some time his literary career and dedicated himself to work on educational problems, and when he started to write again it was his masterpiece War and Peace which came from his pen in 1869. Moreover, an important event happened in 1861 in Russia: all serfs were emancipated and Tolstoy was appointed an Umpire of Peace in his district, which position as arbitrator of relations between the landowners and the peasants took a
lo
considerable amount of his time.

In all, twenty of Tolstoy's works will be considered in

lo. Dole, Life of Tolstoï, p. 169.

this thesis. Five of them are novels, and the rest are tales, stories, and sketches. Since the Chapters will not be divided according to the titles of works but according to the names of authors who influenced these works, I shall enumerate them here. There are the following novels: Childhood, Boyhood, Youth, The Cossacks, and Family Happiness. The stories and tales are as follows: The Invaders, Recollections of a Billiard Marker, The Snowstorm, Two Hussars, Meeting a Moscow Acquaintance, A Russian Proprietor, Lucerne, Albert, Three Deaths, Polikushka, Wood-Cutting Expedition, and Kholstomyer. Finally there are three autobiographical sketches of Tolstoy's military service in the Crimean War: Sevastopol in December, Sevastopol in May, and Sevastopol in August.

In examining the influence of western writers on the works of Tolstoy one has to bear in mind a few points which distinguish him as author and man. Unlike Dostoyevski, he owes nothing to the Romantic movement in western literature, and in contrast to most of his contemporaries he did not pass through the school of Romanticism. Tolstoy did not feel himself any more allied to western authors for having used their ideas than the French-speaking gentry in his novels feel obligated to import the social institutions of France along with its language.¹¹ The West was the realm of the city, a realm so strange to Tolstoy that he could regard it

11. Rahv, Philip, The Short Novels of Tolstoy, The Dial Press, New York, 1949, Preface, p.XIII.

as neutral territory.¹² The city was essentially unreal to him; he believed only in the existence of the landowners and of the peasants.¹³

12. Rahv, The Short Novels of Tolstoy, Preface, p. XIV.
13. Ibid., Preface, p. XIV.

CHAPTER II

ROUSSEAU

It was a very common thing among Russian noble families in the XIX-th Century not only to read and to write, but also to speak French at home. This fashion which was in vogue everywhere in Europe was predominant in Russia. Leo Nikolaievich Tolstoy, who was born into a count's family, knew French from the earliest years of his childhood. There were scores of interesting books in his father's library, the majority of them in French, and the young Leo took a great liking for them. When he was eight years of age his parents hired for him and for his brother a French tutor so that in a short time he could read and understand French like any French boy.

The author who exercised the greatest influence on young Tolstoy and whom Tolstoy loved most was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The following statement, which is only one from many, will show the importance of Rousseau and his works ^{to} ~~on~~ Tolstoy:

"Books, and especially the works of the French writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau, exercised a very great influence on Tolstoy in his youth. According to his own relation he had read, already in the middle of the 1840-ies, all 20 volumes of Rousseau, and round his neck he wanted to wear the image of the writer in a medallion instead of a cross." 1

And here is what a French critic writes about the same subject:

"Tolstoï a reçu de lui, dans sa jeunesse, le coup de foudre. Adolescent il portait au cou le portrait de Rousseau

1. Zerchaninov, A., A., Russkaia Literatura, Gos. Izd. USSR, Moscow, 1940, p. 347, my translation.

en medaille, comme une image sainte. Sa réforme morale et son école de Iasnaiia Poliana procèdent de la doctrine et de l'exemple de Jean-Jacques. Jusqu'à ses derniers jours, il n'a cessé de se réclamer de lui. Leurs ressemblances ne sont pas moins frappantes sur le terrain de l'art que sur celui de la religion. - Telles des pages de Rousseau me vont au coeur - disait Tolstoi - je crois que je les aurais écrites. De fait il les a récrites. Il a été le Jean-Jacques de notre temps." 2

Tolstoy's biographer, Dole, devotes considerable space in his work to the resemblance between the two authors as men and writers.³ Among other things Dole says in his biography:

"One cannot avoid the thought that the impulse to many of the great Russian writers' idiosyncrasies must have come from the author of Emile, whom Tolstoi so adored in his early youth." 4

Another Tolstoy scholar states that one of Rousseau's books over the pages of which young Tolstoy shed many a happy, noble tear was the Confessions.⁵ It is no wonder that when we compare the works of Tolstoy's early period with Rousseau's Confessions we find striking similarities, not only in style and feeling, but also in the incidents themselves.

The traces of Rousseau's influence on Tolstoy are clearly visible in almost all his works produced before 1861. This influence can be divided into three main parts:

2. Romain, Rolland, Les Pages Immortelles de J.-J. Rousseau, Editions Corrêa, Paris, p. 44.
3. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 421 - 22 and 448 - 49.
4. Ibid., p. 421.
5. Nazaroff, Alexander, I., Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1929, p. 16.

1. The Cult of Nature
2. Resentment against Civilization and Society
3. Social Problems

Of course, besides these points there are other important elements in Rousseau's philosophy that attracted the young author, as for example his love of simple peasant folk, the doctrine of family life, his conception of happiness, and the superiority of the heart over the head.

1. The Cult of Nature

Tolstoy, a child brought up in the country, early learned to understand and to love nature; therefore he was strongly attracted by his teacher's ideas about the simplicity and pleasure of an existence in close communion with Mother Earth. His daughter, Alexandra, writes in her memoirs about her father that to such extent was Tolstoy under the influence of the notion of Natural Man in his youth that

"he has sewn for himself some kind of an awful, long, smock which he slept in at night and wore in the daytime ... All day long he used to roam through the forest, and when he was tired, he rested with volumes of philosophical books as a pillow under his head ..." 6

However, Tolstoy as a writer, had a different approach to Rousseau's back-to-nature idea. In Western Europe Rousseau's philosophy of nature had a deep influence on the development of the Romantic movement. We have already noted that Tolstoy did not belong to the Romantic school, and hence in him Rousseau survived rather through his rationalism and sensibility. In point of fact, the Rousseauist cult of nature is operative on Tolstoy in a manner that leads toward realism,
⁷ as many of his tales show.

Both for Rousseau and for Tolstoy nature is of the utmost importance in the life of man. Says Rousseau speaking

6. Tolstoy, Alexandra, Otets, Chekhov Publishing House, New York, 1953, vol. I., p. 61, my translation.

7. Rahv, The Short Novels of Tolstoy, Preface, p. XIV.

through Saint-Preux in a letter to Julie:

" La sagesse a beau parler par votre bouche, la voix de la nature est la plus forte." 8

And Tolstoy answers him through Olyenin in his letter from the Caucasus:

" Happiness is to be with Nature, to see her, to hold converse with her." 9

Tolstoy loved nature from his earliest years. When, as a boy of eight, he was for the first time allowed to go to a hunt, he was captivated by the beauty of the forest, and later on in his novel Childhood he writes these few lines which show how acute were his perceptions at that time:

" Around the bare roots of the oak tree under which I sat, upon the gray, parched earth, amid the withered oak leaves, acorns, dry moss-grown sticks, yellowish green moss, and the thin green blades of grass which pushed their way through here and there, ants swarmed in countless numbers." 10

Once riding in the family coach, after a heavy and sudden spring thunderstorm, he jumps from the carriage in order to enjoy and admire nature. This incident he describes in the novel Boyhood. It is Nikolyenka Irteneff, the hero of the book, who speaks, but the experience is Tolstoy's:

" Crested larks flutter about on all sides with joyous song and fall; in the wet bushes the uneasy movements of little birds are audible, and the note of the cuckoo is wafted distinctly from the heart of the wood. The marvelous

8. Rousseau, J.-J., La Nouvelle Héloïse, Librairie de Paris, p. 41.

9. Tolstoi, Lyof, N., Complete Works, The Kelmscott Society Publ., New York, vol XI, The Cossacks, p. 162.

10. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. X, Childhood, p. 27.

perfume of the forest is so enchanting after this spring thunderstorm, the scent of the birches, the violets, the dead leaves, the mushrooms, the wild cherry trees, that I cannot sit still in the britchka, but jump from the step, run to the bushes, and in spite of the shower of raindrops I tear off wet branches of the fluttering cherry trees, switch my face with them, and drink in their wondrous perfume."¹¹ 11

How similar are these feelings to those of his teacher, Rousseau, who liked

" errer nonchalamment dans le bois et dans la campagne, prendre machinalement ça et là, tantôt une fleur, tantôt un rameau, brouter mon foin presque au hasard, observer mille et mille fois les mêmes choses, et toujours avec le même intérêt..."¹² 12

or to those described by Saint-Preux in his letter to Mylord Edouard:

" En entrant dans ce prétendu verger, je fus frappé d'une agréable sensation de fraîcheur que d'obscurs ombrages, une verdure animée et vive, des fleurs éparses de tous côtés, un gazouillement d'eau courante et le chant de mille oiseaux, portèrent à mon imagination du moins autant qu'à mes sens."¹³ 13

Visiting the estate of his friend, Nikolyenka Irteneff saw a small recess not far from the manor house. It resembled very much a similar nook of Mme de Wolmar. Tolstoy does not fail to present this little spot in his novel Youth. He writes:

" The view from the princesse's favourite place was of this nature: It consisted of a small pond with overgrown banks; directly behind it was a steep hill covered with vast, ancient trees and bushes, with frequent changes in its many-hued verdure; and at the foot of the hill, drooping over the pond, an ancient birch, which, partly clinging to the damp bank of the pool with its thick roots, rested its crown upon

11. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. X, Boyhood, p. 126.

12. Rousseau, J.-J., Les Confessions, Librairie de Paris, p. 607.

13. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 432.

a tall and stately ash tree, and swung its curling branches over the smooth surface of the pond, which gave back the reflection of these drooping boughs and the surrounding greenery."¹⁴ 14

Upon arriving in Clarens Saint-Preux finds an almost identical spot in Wolmar's garden:

" Presque à l'extrémité de l'enceinte était un petit bassin bordé d'herbes, de joncs, de roseaux, servant d'abreuvoir à la volière et dernière station de cette eau si précieuse et si bien ménagée. Au delà de ce bassin était un terre-plein terminé dans l'angle de l'enclos par un monticule garni d'une multitude d'arbisseaux de toute espèce; les plus petits vers le haut, et toujours croissant en grandeur à mesure que le sol s'abaissait; ce qui rendait le plan des têtes presque horizontal, ou montrait au moins qu'un jour il le devait etre. Sur le devant étaient une douzaine d'arbres jeunes encore, mais faits pour devenir fort grands, tels que le hêtre, l'orme, le frêne, l'acacia."¹⁵ 15

The comparison of these two passages shows how deeply was deposited in the soul of Tolstoy the beloved picture of nature executed by his master, Rousseau, that the viewing of a similar scene produced an analogical reflection in Tolstoy.

Very much alike are Rousseau's and Tolstoy's contemplations of nature. During his solitary life on the Île de Saint-Pierre Rousseau loved to spend his time admiring and enjoying nature. Here is how he felt then:

" Pour les après-dînées, je livrais totalement à mon humeur oiseuse et nonchalante, et à suivre sans règle l'impulsion du moment. Souvent, quand l'air était calme, j'allais immédiatement en sortant de table me jeter seul dans un petit bateau que le receveur m'avait appris à

14. Tolstoï, Complete Works, vol. X, Youth, p. 296.

15. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 436.

mener avec une seule rame; je m'avançais en pleine eau. Le moment où je dérivais me donnait une joie qui allait jusqu'au tresaillement, et dont il m'est impossible de dire ni de bien comprendre la cause, si ce n'était peut-être une félicitation secrète d'être en cet état hors de l'atteinte des méchants. J'errais ensuite seul dans ce lac, approchant quelquefois du rivage, mais n'y abordant jamais. Souvent, laissant aller mon bateau à la merci de l'air et de l'eau, je me livrais à des rêveries sans objet, et qui, pour être stupides, n'en étaient pas moins douces. Je m'écriais parfois avec attendrissement: O nature! ô ma mère! me voici sous ta seule garde; il n'y a point ici d'homme adroit et fourbe qui s'interpose entre toi et moi." 16

Rousseau's disciple, Tolstoy, following in the steps of Natural Man gives us a similar picture and similar ideas in his reflections on youth:

" Sometimes, and tolerably often too, I rose early. (I slept in the open air on the terrace, and the brilliant, oblique rays of the morning sun awakened me.) I dressed myself rapidly, took a towel and a volume of French romance under my arm, and went for a bath in the river, under the shadow of a birch grove which was half verst distant from the house. Then I stretched myself out upon the grass in the shade and read, raising my eyes now and then from my book to glance at the surface of the river, which purpled in the shadows as it began to undulate beneath the morning breeze; at the field of yellowing grain; at the opposite shore; at the bright red morning rays of light that tinged lower and ever lower the trunks of the beeches which, hiding one behind the other, retreated from me toward the fresh depths of the wood: and I enjoyed the consciousness of the same fresh young force of life within myself which breathed forth from nature all about me. When tiny gray morning clouds filled the heavens, and I shivered after my bath, I often set out on a pathless tramp across forest and meadow, wetting my boots through and through with delight in the fresh dew." 17

But the best proof of Rousseau's influence on Tolstoy concerning nature is visible in the latter's Caucasian tales.

16. Les Confessions, p. 609.

17. Youth, p. 319.

Here he is in the middle of a magnificent kind of landscape familiar to his teacher, who was himself a native of a mountainous country. Of course, Tolstoy did not go to the Caucasus expressly to admire nature and mountains; he went there as a Russian officer to fight the rebellious mountaineers, but, being a lover of nature, he always found time to enjoy her. It is in the Caucasus that Tolstoy saw for the first time the grandeur of nature. In the Caucasus he learned to admire and to appreciate it fully. He had to see the mountains to experience the same kind of love of nature as his master felt toward her.

At that time the wild, spectacular Caucasus was a land fabled in song and story for Russians. Influenced by the Romantic movement, which in turn was greatly indebted to Rousseau, the romanticists Marlinski, Pushkin, and Lermontov sang about its mountains, precipices, rushing torrents, beautiful women, and fierce, untamed tribesmen in their poems.¹⁸ But their descriptions of the land to which young Tolstoy was going were entirely romantic. Tolstoy, on the other hand, describes the Caucasus realistically, rather as Rousseau presents the Alps in which he was born and lived.

The first glimpse of the mountains produced on Tolstoy, the child of the plains, an impression which

18. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 76.

lasted throughout all his life. On his way to the Caucasus, when he woke up one morning and looked out from his post-carriage window, he was enchanted by the magnificent view. This interesting incident he describes in his novel The Cossacks when its hero, Olyenin, approaches the village Starogladkovskaya:

" Suddenly he saw, twenty paces distant from him, as it seemed at the first moment, the pure white mountain masses, with their tender outlines, and the fantastic, marvelous, perfect aerial contours of their summits and the far-off sky.

And when he comprehended all the distance between him and the mountains and the sky, all the majesty of the mountains, and when he realized all the endlessness of that beauty, he was alarmed lest it were an illusion, a dream. He shook himself so as to wake up.

But the mountains were still the same....

From that moment all that he had seen, all that he had thought, all that he had felt, assumed for him the new, sternly majestic character of the mountains. All his recollections of Moscow, his shame and his repentance, all his former illusions about the Caucasus, - all disappeared and never returned again." 19

Rousseau's Saint-Preux during his visit to the Valais country thus presents his impressions to Julie:

" Supposez les impressions réunies de ce que je viens de vous décrire, et vous aurez quelque idée de la situation délicieuse où je me trouvais: imaginez la variété, la grandeur, la beauté de mille étonnans spectacles; le plaisir de ne voir autour de soi que des objets tout nouveaux, des oiseaux étranges, des plantes bizarres et inconnues; d'observer en quelque sorte une autre nature, et de se trouver dans un nouveau monde. Tout cela fait aux yeux un mélange inexprimable, dont le charme augmente encore par la subtilité de l'air, qui rend les couleurs plus vives, les traits plus marqués, rapproche tous les points de vue; les distances paraissent moindres que dans les plains, où l'épaisseur de l'air couvre la terre d'un voile, l'horizon

19. The Cossacks, p. 16 - 17.

présente aux yeux plus d'objets qu'il semble n'en pouvoir contenir: enfin ce spectacle a je ne sais quoi de magique, de surnaturel, qui ravit l'esprit et les sens; on oublie tout, on s'oublie soi-même, on ne sait plus où l'on est." 20

The similarities in these two passages show that Tolstoy remembered his French model when recounting his own experience.

In 1856 Tolstoy made his first tour through the countries of Western Europe. The place which attracted him most was Clarens and its neighbourhood. During his two months' stay in Clarens Tolstoy was unusually responsive to the natural scenery and to all manifestations of nature.²¹ Shortly before starting out he had written to his Aunt Tatyana that he spent most of his time in the village, where his beloved Rousseau's Julie had lived.²² This event was of very great significance to Tolstoy.

Under the influence of these souvenirs and of the beautiful surroundings of Clarens Tolstoy becomes almost romantic. In his Travel Notes of that time he writes:

" Surprisingly enough, I have been living at Clarens for two months, and each time in the morning, or especially just before evening after dinner, when I open the shutters on which the shadows of night are falling and look out over the lake and on the mountains, green in the foreground and blue in the distance, reflected in it, the beauty dazzles me and suddenly acts upon me with the power of the unexpected. At that moment I wish to love, and I even feel love for myself, and I regret the past, hope for future, and there is joy in me at being alive. I want to live forever, and thoughts about death are filled with childishly poetic

20. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 65.

21. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 152.

22. Ibid., p. 152.

horror. Sometimes, while sitting alone in the shade of the little garden and gazing, always gazing on the shores of the lake, I experience a kind of physical impression, as though the beauty pours through my eyes into my soul." 23

However, on the whole, Tolstoy's descriptions of nature are realistic. He is fain to turn every romantic picture of nature executed by his teacher into realistic colours although he is undoubtedly influenced by the beauty of romantic description. In order to make suitable comparisons, here is Rousseau's distinctly romantic picture of mountains:

" Je voulais rêver, et j'en étais toujours détourné par quelque spectacle inattendu. Tantôt d'immenses rochers pendaient en ruines au-dessus de ma tête. Tantôt de hautes et bruyantes cascades m'inondaient de leur épais brouillard. Tantôt un torrent éternel ouvrait à mes côtés un abîme dont les yeux n'osaient sonder la profondeur. Quelquefois, je me perdais dans l'obscurité d'un bois touffu. Quelquefois, en sortant d'un gouffre, une agréable prairie réjouissait tout à coup mes regards." 24

Influenced by such passages of Rousseau, Tolstoy paints a similar picture of nature. However, when Rousseau uses vague, rather abstract terms in his description, Tolstoy's image is presented in more concrete terms:

" The sun was not yet visible, but the summit of the balka (ravine) on the right began to grow luminous. The gray and white crags, the greenish yellow moss, the clumps of different kinds of bushes, wet with dew, stood out extraordinarily distinct and rotund in the pellucid golden light of the dawn.

On the other hand, the ravine, hidden in thick mist which rolled up like smoke in varying volumes, was damp and dark, and presented an evanescent mixture of colors - pale lilac, almost purple, dark green, and white." 25

23. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 153.

24. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 63.

25. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XII, The Invaders, p. 6 - 7.

Although there is a difference between Tolstoy's and Rousseau's descriptions of nature, the one realistic and the other romantic, the feeling toward nature is common to both of them. Tolstoy also accepts Rousseau's idea about primitive life, close to nature, and his conception of Natural Man.

Wandering through the Valais country Rousseau's Saint-Preux meets its inhabitants, observes their way of life, talks with them, and visits their homes. He is surprised by their simple life, and, at the same time, he is charmed with their customs and hospitality.

"*Hommes heureux et dignes de l'être*",²⁶
he writes of them to his beloved Julie.

Young Olyenin undergoes similar experiences in the Caucasus, where he watches the primitive, quiet, and, above all, happy life of the native Cossacks. A distinct influence of Rousseau, who says

"*La condition naturelle à l'homme est de cultiver la terre et de vivre de ses fruits.*"²⁷

is visible in Olyenin's reflections on life in nature:

"Here are no such steeds, no such cataracts, as I imagined, no Amalatbeks, no heroes, no vagabonds. Men live as Nature lives; they die, they are born, they marry, they are born again, they fight, they drink, they eat, they hold good cheer, and again they die, and there are no conditions except the immutable ones imposed by Nature herself on the sun, the grass, the animal, the tree. They are subject to no other laws..."

26. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 66.

27. Ibid., p. 491.

And consequently these people, in comparison with himself, seemed beautiful, strong, and free, and, as he looked at them, he grew ashamed and sorry for himself.

It often seriously came into his thoughts to give up everything, to have himself enrolled among the Cossacks, to buy a cabin and cattle, to marry a Cossack wife, - " 28

Does not the above idea come from Rousseau? Tolstoy's teacher had similar views himself and the best proof of it is the incident with the Armenian costume. Rousseau writes:

" Peu de temps après mon établissement à Motiers-Travers, ayant toutes les assurances possibles qu'on m'y laisserait tranquille, je pris l'habit arménien. Ce n'était pas une idée nouvelle; elle m'était venue diverses fois dans le cours de ma vie, ..." 29

He also went to the country to live there far away from the noise of the city:

" Il n'aspirait à rien tant qu'à prendre congé du public et du monde, a s'éloigner de Paris, à se retirer dans la nature solitaire. Et il le fit. Il profita de l'invitation de venir loger dans un 'Hermitage' de la forêt de Montmorency." 30

This Rousseauistic philosophy of seclusion from city life was developing gradually in Tolstoy. He was fired with it in his early youth when he wore a ridiculous smock and slept in the fresh air, and, after a period of life in relative pleasure and comfort, it returned to him with double strength. In his later years Tolstoy wore peasant's clothes, worked like^a peasant, and lived on the country in peasantlike fashion.

Rousseau's idea of Natural Man was deeply rooted in

28. The Cossacks, p. 136.

29. Les Confessions, p. 568.

30. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles de J.-J., Rousseau, p. 25.

Tolstoy's mind. During his service in the Caucasus he met an old man, a native Cossack, who had lived all his life in the mountains. Tolstoy and the aged Cossack became good friends. ³¹ In Tolstoy's novel, The Cossacks, this very individual is described as Yeroshka. The hero of the novel, Olyenin, liked this old fellow, who, despite of his eighty years, was of gigantic size, unusually strong and healthy so that the young and sturdy Olyenin could neither match the old man's strength nor his power of endurance. Following the indication of Rousseau that

³²
" le plus grand maître est la nature "

Tolstoy makes Olyenin turn for wisdom to this aged Cossack who is the child of nature. And he learns a great deal from Yeroshka. The latter's simple earthly philosophy offered a soothing solution for Olyenin's inner struggle between ³³ the good and bad impulses of his nature.

The old man firmly believed that God has created everything for the joy of man. To live freely in nature and to enjoy everything she offers was, according to Yeroshka, no sin. He himself was a consummate woodsman and hunter. In his youth he boasted a name of a reckless fellow whom nevertheless all loved for his various tricks. Living a free life in the bosom of nature, hunting, drinking, roaming through the woods at will, he enjoyed perfect

31. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 81.

32. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles ..., p. 17.

33. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 81.

health in his old age.

The old man's philosophy of life was somewhat hedonistic. He professed the enjoyment of all things nature gives us in this life, for

" you will die, and the grass will grow over you, and that's all there is of it. " ³⁴

Through the mouth and through the actions of Yeroshka flow Rousseau's ideas of his great Utopia, the liberation ³⁵ of mankind from all conventionalities.

To Tolstoy, the lover of nature, it seemed incredible that people do not understand nature and that they cannot appreciate her as he does. To wage war in the midst of peaceful nature was something beyond his comprehension. During an expedition against the warlike mountaineers the hero of his story reflects in a Rousseauistic manner on nature and war:

" Nature breathed peacefully in beauty and power. Is it possible that people find no room to live together in this beautiful world, under this boundless starry heaven ? Is it possible that, amid this bewitching Nature, the soul of man can harbour the sentiments of hatred and revenge, or the passion for inflicting destruction on his kind ? All ugly feelings in the heart of man ought, it would seem, to vanish away in this intercourse with Nature - with this immediate expression of beauty and goodness." ³⁶

Rousseau's Saint-Preux could not marry his beloved Julie because she was promised by her father to another man. After his return to Clarens he finds her a wife to

34. The Cossacks, p. 75.

35. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 58.

36. The Invaders, p. 18.

Mr. Wolmar but he still loves her. He is happy, however, that he can see her, that he can hear her talking and laughing. In one of his letters to Mylord Edouard he tells how all his feelings are bound up with nature:

" La campagne, la retraite, le repos, la saison, la vaste plaine d'eau qui s'offre à mes yeux, le sauvage aspect des montagnes, tout me rappelle ici ma délicieuse île de Tinian. Je crois voir accomplir les voeux ardents que j'y formai tant de fois. J'y mène une vie de mon goût, j'y trouve une société selon mon cœur. Il ne manque en ce lieu que deux personnes pour que tout mon bonheur y soit rassemblé, et j'ai l'espoir de les y voir bientôt." 37

Tolstoy's Olyenin is also in love, and, similarly, he cannot marry his loved one because she is already betrothed to a native Cossack. His feelings described in a letter recall the experiences of Saint-Preux:

" Each day before me the far-off, snow-capped mountains and this majestic, light hearted woman. And the only happiness possible in the world out of my reach ! This woman, unattainable for me ! The most terrible and at the same time the sweetest element of my position to me was the thought that I understand her and that she can never understand me,--- she is like Nature is calm, tranquil, and sufficient unto herself." 38

Thus Nature is a guide, a source of joy, and a consolation - for Tolstoy as well as for his master Rousseau.

37. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 403.

38. The Cossacks, p. 164.

2. Resentment against Civilization and Society

The feeling of resentment against civilization and society in Tolstoy's works of this period is closely connected with his views on nature. This idea of resentment combines in itself a yearning for simplicity of life and a belief in the value of honest hard work. By civilization Tolstoy understands mainly those inventions, commodities, devices, and material means that make life complicated, luxurious, and unhealthy both from a physical and a moral point of view. Society means for Tolstoy congregations of city dwellers of higher classes with their laws, stiffness, and conventionalities.

In this aversion Tolstoy was greatly influenced by the philosophy of Rousseau. However, Tolstoy did not repudiate civilization as completely as Rousseau did.

After having expounded the reasons for the loss of human freedom and for the rise of society, Rousseau thus concludes the chapter L'Etat Social Civilisé ou la Dégénérescence du Genre Humain in his Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité:

"Telle fut ou dut être l'origine de la société et des lois, qui donnèrent de nouvelles forces au riche, détruisirent sans retour la liberté naturelle, fixèrent pour jamais la loi de la propriété et de l'inégalité, d'une adroite usurpation firent une loi irrévocable, et, pour le profit de quelques ambitieux, assujettirent désormais tout le genre humain au travail, à la servitude et à la misère." 39

39. Schinz, Albert, Vie et Oeuvres, D.C. Heath & Co. Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago, 1921, p. 86.

Tolstoy's view of this matter is not so extreme. His Sergyei Mikhaïlitch in the novel Family Happiness says that

" Society is not a great misfortune in itself, but the unattainable ambitions of the world are bad and unworthy." ⁴⁰ However, Tolstoy's indignation over the artificiality of society and his resentment against its ways are often very acute.

The greatest influence on the formation in him of these views was that part of La Nouvelle Héloïse in which Saint-Preux presents his observations on Paris society. Saint-Preux, after a sojourn in the country among simple folks, is unpleasantly struck by the vanity, hypocrisy, artificiality, stiffness, and coldness of the upper classes of Paris. All his letters pertaining to this subject are full of satire and indignation. Here is how he describes his feelings to Julie:

" Quand je vois les mêmes hommes changer de maximes selon les coteries, molinistes dans l'une, jansénistes dans l'autre, vils courtisans chez un ministre, frondeurs mutins chez un mécontent; quand je vois un homme doré décrier le luxe, un financier les impôts, un prélat le dérèglement; quand j'entends une femme de la cour parler de modestie, un grand seigneur de vertu, un auteur de simplicité, un abbé de religion, et que ces absurdités ne choquent personne: ne dois-je pas conclure à l'instant qu'on ne se soucie pas plus ici d'entendre la vérité que de la dire, et que loin de vouloir persuader les autres quand on leur parle, on ne cherche pas même à leur faire penser qu'on croit ce que l'on leur dit ? " ⁴¹

Or in another letter:

" Il faut faire comme les autres: c'est la première maxime de la sagesse du pays. Cela se fait, cela ne se fait pas: voilà la décision suprême.

Cette apparente régularité donne aux usages communs l'air du monde le plus comique, même dans les choses les plus

40. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, Family Happiness, p. 296.

41. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 215 - 16.

sérieuses; on sait à point nommé quand il faut envoyer savoir des nouvelles; quand il faut se faire écrire, c'est-à-dire faire une visite qu'on ne fait pas; quand il faut la faire soi-même; quand il est permis d'être chez soi; quand on doit n'y pas être, quoiqu'on y soit; quelles offres l'un doit faire, quelles offres l'autre doit rejeter; quel degré de tristesse on doit prendre à telle ou telle mort; combien de temps on doit pleurer à la campagne; le jour où l'on peut revenir se consoler à la ville; l'heure et la minute où l'affliction permet de donner le bal ou d'aller au spectacle. Tout le monde y fait à la fois la même chose dans la même circonstance; tout va par temps, comme les mouvements d'un régiment en bataille: vous diriez que ce sont autant de marionnettes clouées sur la même planche, ou tirées par le même fil."⁴²

Rousseau is an enemy of all conformities and rules, and so is his disciple Tolstoy. The hatred of Moscow society runs even higher in Tolstoy. His hero, Olyenin, writes a letter not from Moscow but from the Caucasus to Moscow. The sense of it is almost the same as that of the above passages from Saint-Preux's letter, with the distinction that there is not only satire but sheer rebellion:

" If you only knew how mean and detestable you are in your self-delusions ! The moment that, instead of my cottage, my forest, and my love, there come up before my imagination your parlors, your ladies with pomaded locks mixed in with false hair, all those unnaturally moving lips, those weak limbs hidden and useless, and that fashionable lisp, which pretends to be conversation and has no right to the name, - then it becomes insufferably painful to me. I am pained at the thought of those vacuous faces, those rich, marriageable girls, whose faces seem to say, 'No matter: come if you wish, though I am a rich maiden'; that sitting down and changing of places, and that insolent, brazen-faced pairing-off of men and women, and that eternal, tittle-tattle, hypocrisy; those rules and regulations - with whom you must shake hands, to whom you must bow, with whom chat, and, finally, that everlasting ennui, bred in the bone, that descends from generation to

42. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 224.

generation, and consciously too, with the conviction that it is inevitable.

Accept one thing or believe in one thing. You must see and comprehend what truth and beauty are, and then all that you say and think will crumble into dust, and with it all your wishes of happiness for me and yourselves." 43

In one of her letters to Saint-Preux Julie asks him to describe Parisian ladies. The former, complying with her wish, presents them to her in a manner not very much different from the above description of Olyenin, only this ⁴⁴ sneering sarcasm is not present in Saint-Preux's picture.

Cities are unhealthy, and their social atmosphere influences their inhabitants negatively.

" C'est le premier inconvénient des grandes villes que les hommes y deviennent autres que ce qu'ils sont, et que la société leur donne pour ainsi dire un être différent du leur. Cela est vrai surtout à Paris, et surtout à l'égard des femmes, qui tirent des regards d'autrui la seule existence dont elles se soucient " 45

- says Saint-Preux.

The more complex the civilization the more it corrupts those who live in it. In Emile Rousseau declares that

" Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'auteur des choses; tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme." 46

One of the most corrupting elements, which is, of course, most widespread in cities, is luxury.

" ...le luxe est l'effet des richesses, ou il les rend nécessaires, il corrompt à la fois le riche et le pauvre, l'un par la possession, l'autre par la convoitise;" 47

- writes the author in Le Contrat Social.

43. The Cossacks, p. 161 - 62.

44. See La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 237 - 250.

45. Ibid., p. 245.

46. Schinz, Vie et Oeuvres, p. 208.

47. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles ..., p. 83.

Artificiality is harmful to people, and Saint-Preux, who saw so much of it in Paris, contrasts the artificial life of great cities with the quiet happy life in the country in his letter to Mylord Edouard.

" Jusques ici j'ai vu beaucoup de masques: quand verrai-je des visages d'hommes ? " ⁴⁸

- says Saint-Preux. On the contrary, when he is in the country he feels free and happy. The sojourn in close connection with nature, this expansion of an open, fresh, unspoiled country, not polluted with the artificial works of men, make him feel better physically and morally. About ⁴⁹ this pleasant contrast he writes to his friend Edouard.

Under these influences Tolstoy makes his Olyenin say:

" How terrible ! Indeed, I should not go to ruin, but great happiness would be mine, if I become the husband of the Countess B-, chamberlain or marshal of the nobility ! How low and despicable you all seem to me ! You know not what happiness is, what life is ! You ought to see and realize what I have each day before my eyes: the eternal, inaccessible snow of the mountains, and a majestic woman, endowed with the primitive beauty in which the first woman must have come from the hand of the Creator, and then you could answer the question, 'Who is going to destruction ? who is living truly or falsely - you or I ?' " ⁵⁰

Olyenin is infinitely glad to get away from Moscow. On his way to the Caucasus he ponders over his attitude to civilization and society:

" The idea of going away entirely, of never returning, of never again appearing in society kept recurring to his mind ...

A wholly new sense of freedom from all his past life came over him, as he found himself amid all the coarse

48. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 210.

49. See Schinz, Vie et Oeuvres, p. 165.

50. The Cossacks, p. 161.

beings whom he encountered on the way and whom he could not call 'people' in the same sense as his old acquaintances in Moscow. The rougher they were, the less they were marked by the characteristics of civilized life, the greater became his sense of freedom." 51

In the XIX-th Century there was a custom among the upper classes of Moscow society to initiate their children into social life. A boy entering university was supposed to call upon some prominent people, acquaintances, or distant relations of his parents. Such incidents Tolstoy describes in his novel Youth when he, as a lad of sixteen, was sent by his father to make a few social calls of this kind. For Tolstoy, who was of a shy nature, such visits were very unpleasant things to perform. It is unnecessary to add, of course, that this his debut was unsuccessful. From this time begins his personal resentment ^{against} to all high, stiff, artificial classes of society.

The hero of Youth, Nikolyenka Irteneff, pictures his social calls as similar to Saint-Preux's visits to Parisian ladies and gentlemen in La Nouvelle Héloïse. Here are some of his impressions:

" The second call on my way was on the Kornakoffs. They lived on the first floor of a great house on the Arbate. The staircase was very showy and clean, but not luxurious. Everywhere there was striped crash fastened directly on the stairs by rails of polished copper; but there were neither flowers nor mirrors. The hall, over whose brightly polished floor I passed to reach the drawing-room, was also forbidding, cold, and neatly arranged; everything shone, and seemed durable, although not at all new; but neither pictures, curtains, nor any

51. The Cossacks, p. 14 - 15.

other species of adornment were anywhere visible. Several princesses were in the drawing-room. They were in such a precise and leisurely attitude that it was immediately perceptible that they did not sit so when guests were not present." 52

After an unsuccessful visit Nikolyenka says:

" Well, as papa likes, but my feet will never enter here again. That bawler cries when she looks at me, just as though I were some miserable creature; and Ivin is a pig, and doesn't bow to me. I'll give him ..." 53

Yet, in spite of all his hatred of society at that time, this very Nikolyenka Irteneff, who, by the way, was no one else but Tolstoy himself, imagined a picture of the perfect snob, and tried to conform to it. This idea he called being "comme il faut", and it was modelled in part on Saint-Preux's description of Parisian society.

The hero of La Nouvelle Héloïse thus presents "le monde" :

" Avoir un carrosse, un suisso, un maître d'hôtel, c'est être comme tout le monde. Pour être comme tout le monde, il faut être comme très-peu de gens: ceux qui vont à pied ne sont pas du monde; ce sont des bourgeois, des hommes du peuple, des gens de l'autre monde; et l'on dirait qu'un carrosse n'est pas tant nécessaire pour se conduire que pour exister." 54

Tolstoy's idea of being "comme il faut" embraced somewhat different qualities, chiefly because he was still a young boy and his attention was directed to other trivialities, but, on the whole, the imitation of Rousseau is clearly visible.

52. Youth, p. 265.

53. Ibid., p. 271.

54. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 226.

" My chief and favourite subdivision of people, at that time of which I write," - states Irteneff - " was into people who were 'comme il faut', and people who were 'comme il ne faut pas'. The second class was again subdivided into people who were simply not 'comme il faut', and the common people. People who were 'comme il faut' I considered worthy of holding equal intercourse with me; as for the second class, I pretended to despise them, but in reality I hated them, and cherished toward them a certain sense of personal injury; the third did not exist for me - I scorned them utterly. My 'comme il faut' consisted first and chiefly in an excellent knowledge of the French tongue, and a good pronunciation in particular ... The second condition of 'comme il faut' was long, clean, polished finger-nails; a third was a knowledge of how to bow, dance, and converse; a fourth, and very important one, was indifference to everything, and the constant expression of a certain elegant, scornful 'ennui'. Besides these, I had general indications, by means of which I decided, without having spoken to a man, to which class he belonged. The chief of these, besides arrangement of his room, his seal, his handwriting, and equipage, was his feet." 55

It is peculiar that such a stout follower of Rousseau's philosophy of resentment against society should fall in love with it. He was constantly on the look out for the characteristics of "comme il faut" among his friends, acquaintances, and fellow students. However, this period was of a short duration and with the exception of Youth we do not find this idea in his other works of that time.

In 1857 Tolstoy traveled to Western Europe, and, among other places, visited Lucerne, where he put up at the Schweizerhof Inn. At that time Switzerland was frequented by English tourists and Tolstoy found himself in the midst of a company which was predominantly English. Being a

55. Youth, p. 316 - 17.

friendly, talkative, and natural Russian, the taciturnity and the stiffness of the English did not appeal to him. Again under the influence of Rousseau he expressed his indignation over the stiffness of society in his story Lucerne.

During dinners at Schweizerhof ruled a certain artificiality and a strict decorum imposed by the English that irritated Tolstoy.

"On all sides" - he writes - "gleamed the whitest laces, the whitest collars, the whitest teeth, - natural and artificial, - the whitest complexions and hands. But the faces, many of which were very handsome, bore the expression merely of individual prosperity, and absolute absence of interest in all that surrounded them unless it bore directly on their own individual selves; and the white hands, glittering with rings or protected by mitts, moved only for the purpose of straightning collars, cutting meat, or filling wine-glasses; no soul-felt emotion was betrayed in these actions." 56

Tolstoy was unpleasantly struck by the fact that no one uttered a word at these dinners. To him, as to his teacher Rousseau, all conventionality was foreign, and he could not get used to this behaviour. He complained about such dinners:

"Knives and forks scarcely rattled on the plates, so perfect was the observance of propriety; and no one dared to convey pease or vegetables to the mouth otherwise than on the fork. The waiters, involuntarily subdued by the universal silence, asked in a whisper what wine you would be pleased to order.

Such dinners always depress me: I dislike them, and before they are over I become blue. It always seems to me as if I had done something wrong I used to try to rebel against this feeling of being choked down, which I experienced at such dinners, but in vain. All these dead-and-alive faces have an irresistible influence over me, and I myself become also as one dead." 57

56. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, Lucerne, p. 69.

57. Ibid., p. 69.

Tolstoy fully agreed with Rousseau's views that civilization corrupts man, who is by nature a good being. To prove this theory he wrote the story Recollections of a Billiard-Marker. Tolstoy's view in this story shows again that in populous cities characters are bound to be contaminated with corruption and immorality. On the other hand, the author believes in the purity of country life.

A rich young nobleman from the country arrives in Petersburg. A greenhorn in a great city, he expects to attain to fame, honors, and happiness. But instead of these he is attracted by the city's game rooms. A passion for playing billiards develops in him so that in a short time he loses all his property to the pool-sharks, and, in addition, makes very large debts. Completely beaten down and disillusioned he sees his only escape in suicide. Before his death he writes in his notes:

"God gave me all that a man can desire, - wealth, name, intellect, noble aspirations. I wanted to enjoy myself, and trod in the mire all that was best in me.

I have done nothing dishonorable, I am not unfortunate, I have not committed any crime; but I have done worse: I have destroyed my feelings, my intellect, my youth.

I became entangled in a filthy net, from which I cannot escape, and to which I cannot accustom myself. I feel that I am falling lower and lower every moment, and I cannot stop my fall." 58

58. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, Recollections of a Billiard-Marker, p. 116.

3. Social Questions

Social questions were of great concern to Tolstoy and his interest in them he also derived from his teacher, Rousseau. Thoughts about the inequality of men, the question why there must be rich and poor in the world, and generally the problem of evil in human life occupy a considerable place in the early works of Tolstoy. Living on a rich nobleman's estate in Russia he could not but notice the difference between the serf and the squire, between the servant and the master, between the illiterate peasant and the educated gentleman of higher society. From his earliest days Tolstoy, a man of a very sensitive and good heart, observed society and inquired into the reasons of social inequality.

Perusing of Rousseau's "revolutionary" books, like the Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité, Contrat Social, and Emile, sharpened still more his interest in these problems. In his later life Tolstoy devoted all his spiritual and physical endeavours to fight evil in human life and became a reformer.

Influenced also by the idyllic picture of country life in Julie's home in La Nouvelle Héloïse Tolstoy undertook to write a novel, A Proprietor's Morning, in which he wished to portray a good landowner who made it his task to improve the lot of his peasant-serfs. But Tolstoy did not finish this novel. Only a part of ^{the} author's project

exists which is called A Russian Proprietor. The hero of this story, young prince Nekhliudoff represents Tolstoy himself, who after his failure at the University of Kazan returned to his estate in order to occupy himself with local social reform. The influence of Rousseau on this unfinished work is evident, as we shall see.

In La Nouvelle Héloïse Rousseau presents an exemplary little estate where masters and servants live a happy, quiet life as one family. Masters try to please their servants in everything they can, and on the other hand, the servants wish to repay their lords for their generous protection with honest, conscientious, and faithful work. Both sides are happy and satisfied with this arrangement. Here is a brief picture of this idyllic life as presented by Saint-Preux in a letter to Mylord Edouard:

" Quelle retraite délicieuse ! quelle charmante habitation ! que la douce habitude d'y vivre en augmente le prix ! et que, si l'aspect en paraît d'abord peu brillant, il est difficile de ne pas l'aimer aussitôt qu'on la connaît ! Le goût que prend madame de Wolmar à remplir ses nobles devoirs à rendre heureux et bons ceux qui l'approchent, se communique à tout ce qui en est l'objet, à son mari, à ses enfants, à ses hôtes, à ses domestiques. Le tumulte, les jeux bruyants, les longs éclats de rire, ne retentissent point dans ce paisible séjour; mais on y trouve partout des coeurs contents et des visages gais. Si quelquefois on y verse des larmes, elles sont d'attendrissement et de joie. Les noirs soucis, l'ennui, la tristesse, n'approchent pas plus d'ici que le vice et les remords dont ils sont le fruit." 59

Young, energetic, enthusiastic, but still inexperienced Nekhliudoff, after his return to the estate, dreams about

59. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 485.

the improvements in the lot of his peasants he is about to make. He hopes to introduce to his estate and to his serfs a life similar to that in madame de Wolmar's house:

" 'And so I ought to do good if I would be happy', he thought; and all his future vividly came up before him, not as an abstraction, but imagined in the form of the life of a proprietor.

He saw before him a huge field, conterminous with his whole life, which he was to consecrate to the good, and in which really he should find happiness. There was no need for him to search for a sphere of activity; it was all ready. He had one out-and-out obligation: he had his serfs

'To work for this simple, impressionable, incorruptible class of people; to lift them from poverty; to give them pleasure; to give them education, which, fortunately, I will turn to use in correcting their faults, which arise from ignorance and superstition; to develop their morals; to induce them to love the right.... What a brilliant, happy future ! And, besides all this, I, who am going to do this for my own happiness, shall take delight in their appreciation, shall see how every day I shall go farther and farther toward my predestined end.' " 60

However, in execution of his plans for a better life for his serfs Nekhliudoff stumbles against unexpected difficulties. The simple, poor, illiterate peasants, used to the utmost poverty for generations, distrust their master and in his attempts to introduce reforms for their benefit they suspect only the cunning of a rich and powerful lord who wants to exploit them by some new ingenious tricks. Their stupidity, distrust, and stubbornness prevent Nekhliudoff from accomplishing his plan. Finally he grows tired of all his reforms and dismisses his plans from his mind.

60. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, A Russian Proprietor, p. 57 - 58.

Perhaps Tolstoy perceived that the fulfilment of Nekhliudoff's plans to alleviate the lot of Russian serfs was only a utopia and therefore he dropped the subject and left his novel unfinished.

The voice of Rousseau's Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité and Contrat Social sounds very clearly in the autobiographical story Lucerne. A traveling minstrel arrives one evening at the Schweizerhof Inn where Tolstoy along with many other tourists was sojourning at the time. He sings a few songs in front of the Inn and asks the guests for alms, but, with the exception of the author himself, nobody contributes. Tolstoy, filled with indignation by this action, invites the ragged minstrel inside to the Inn in order to buy him food and drink. But in the elegant hotel the poorly-clad minstrel is subject to scorn, jokes, and sneers of the servants and guests. Such behaviour arouses anger in Tolstoy and for a long while he quarrels with the servants proving to them that they have no right to scorn and despise the minstrel. The story ends with the Rousseauistic meditations of the author.

Under the influence of Rousseau's Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité as that

"...l'inégalité, étant presque nulle dans l'état de nature, tire sa force et son accroissement du développement de nos facultés et des progrès de l'esprit humain, et devient enfin stable et legitime par l'établissement de la propriété des lois ", 61

a great indignation boils up in Tolstoy over the treatment

61. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles ..., p. 63.

of the poor minstrel. He bursts with a typically Russian rage against Western sophistication and refinement and says:

" Why is it that this inhuman fact, impossible in any German, French, or Italian country, is quite possible here where civilization, freedom, and equality are carried to the highest degree of development, where there are gathered together the most civilized travelers from the most civilized nations ? Why is it that these cultivated human beings, generally capable of every honorable human action, had no hearty, human feeling for one good deed ? Why is it that these people who, in their palaces, their meetings, and their societies, labor warmly for the condition of the celibate Chinese in India, about the spread of Christianity and culture in Africa, about the formation of societies for attaining all perfection, - why is it that they should not find in their souls the simple, primitive feeling of human sympathy ? Has such a feeling entirely disappeared, and has its place been taken by vainglory, ambition, and cupidity, governing these men in their palaces, meetings, and societies ? Has the spreading of that reasonable, egotistical association of people, which we call civilization, destroyed and rendered nugatory the desire for instinctive and loving association ? And is this that boasted equality for which so much innocent blood has been shed, and so many crimes have been perpetrated ? Is it possible that nations, like children, can be made happy by the mere sound of the word 'equality' ? " 62

How closely does this passage resemble other passages expressing Tolstoy's resentment against the social order !

A still greater influence of Rousseau's ideas on social questions can be noticed in Tolstoy's story Kholstomyer. It is a very beautiful and interesting story about a horse. A peculiar feature of it is that the story is told in the first person by the horse itself. Remarkable as an imaginative presentation of a horse's life and intellect in the minutest details, Kholstomyer is also a satire on human kind. Accepting the horse as his mouthpiece the author

rigidly contrasts the previous, uncorrupted state of the animals with the distorted social order of the human race. In addition, this story illustrates the previously mentioned dictum of Rousseau that everything is good that nature created and everything deteriorates in the hands of men. ⁶³

In his discourse on the origin of the human society Rousseau says among other things:

"Le premier qui ayant enclos un terrain s'avisa de dire 'Ceci est à moi', et trouva des gens assez simples pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile." ⁶⁴

The horse in Tolstoy's story Kholstomyer similarly contemplates the notion of ownership. Maybe to human beings the right of possession is quite natural and evident, but to the horse's intellect it is something absolutely absurd. Here is what Kholstomyer, the horse, thinks about this important problem:

"Now, what they said about whips and Christianity, I understand well enough; but it was perfectly dark to me as to the meaning of the words, 'my horse', 'his horse', by which I perceived that men understand some sort of bond between me and the groom. Wherein consisted this bond, I could not then understand at all. Only long afterward, when I was separated from the other horses, I came to learn what it meant. At that time I could not understand at all that it meant that they considered 'me' the property of a man. To say 'my horse' in reference to me, a live horse, seemed to me as strange as to say, 'my earth, my atmosphere, my water'.

But these words had a monstrous influence on me. I pondered on them ceaselessly; and only after long and varied relations with men did I come at last to comprehend the meaning that men find in these strange words." ⁶⁵

And Kholstomyer reflects further on strange human

63. Schinz, Vie et Oeuvres, p. 208.

64. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles ..., p. 54.

65. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XII, Kholstomyer, p. 240.

usages:

" Afterward, as I widened the sphere of my experiences, I became convinced that the concept 'my', as applied not only to us horses, but to other things, has no other foundation than a low and animal, a human instinct, which they call the sentiment or right of property. Man says, 'my house', and never lives in it, but is only cumbered with the building and maintenance of it. The merchant says, 'my shop', - my clothing-shop, for example, - and he does not even wear clothes made of the best cloth in his shop. " 66

Tolstoy wholeheartedly agrees with Rousseau's ideas on property, society, and human laws as expounded in his socio-philosophical works. With biting satire he attacks the human race through his mouthpiece, the horse:

" I am convinced now that herein lies the substantial difference between men and us," says Kholstomyer, " and, therefore, not speaking of other things where we are superior to men, we are able boldly to say that in this one respect at least we stand, in the scale of living beings, higher than men. The activity of men - at all events, of those with whom I have had to do - is guided by words; ours, by deeds." 67

According to Rousseau, once society had been established, the relations between its members became more and more strained, and the life of people came to be unpleasant and devoid of freedom. From his discourses Tolstoy learned that

" ...Concurrence et rivalité d'une part, de l'autre opposition d'intérêts et toujours le désir caché de faire son profit aux dépens d'autrui: tous ces maux sont le premier effet de la propriété et le cortège inseparable de l'inégalité naissante." 68

66. Kholstomyer, p. 241.

67. Ibid., p. 241.

68. Romain, Les Pages Immortelles ..., p. 56.

Actuated by these conceptions Tolstoy heaps scorn on the human race in Kholstomyer:

"There are people who call land theirs, and have never seen their land, and have never been on it. There are men who call other people theirs, but have never seen these people; and the whole relationship of these owners, to these people, consists in doing them harm.

There are men who call women theirs, - their wives or mistresses; but these women live with other men. And men struggle in life not to do what they consider good, but to call as many things as possible their own." 69

Unfortunately these things that Tolstoy criticized so energetically were true in Russian society of the day. Exploitation of the poor peasant-serfs, selling and buying land with people on it, and the corruption of morals were very common among the upper classes of Russian society. It was therefore not without reason that Tolstoy, fed on Rousseau's philosophical teachings, raised such a strong voice of indignation against the misdeeds of his countrymen and against the ruling order in Russia. His teacher showed him where evil is and why does it exist, and Tolstoy, as his true disciple, even in his early works, followed the steps of his great model.

69. Kholstomyer, p. 241.

Rousseau influenced Tolstoy's views on other social questions which are dealt with in his early works. Tolstoy was always ready to accept ideas which his teacher professed even if the latter did not practise them. Although Tolstoy frankly admitted that Rousseau's works, and especially the Confessions, La Nouvelle Héloïse, and Emile, had a great influence on him, he could be severely critical of Rousseau. ⁷⁰

This might be the case with the question of family life. It was Rousseau who influenced him in setting so high a value upon family life. ⁷¹ But since Rousseau could not give him an example in his personal life in this respect he turned to the doctrine expounded in Rousseau's works.

The great French philosopher considered the family as the foundation of society, as something sacred which should not be broken apart. The destruction of family life would mean the disintegration of the social order. In order to make family life prosper an unconditional solidarity must rule among its principal members:

"....l'honnêteté conjugale tient radicalement à tout l'ordre social, ..." ⁷²

These views are exemplified in Rousseau's novel La Nouvelle Héloïse. Julie is in love with Saint-Preux, but, because of her father's social prejudices, she is not allowed to marry him. Instead she is married to a respectable

70. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 56.

71. Berlin, Isiah, The Hedgehog and the Fox, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1953, p. 42.

72. Schinz, Vie et Oeuvres, p. 143.

honest gentleman, Mr. Wolmar, and although she does not love him, she respects him and all her life she is faithful to him as she had vowed to be during their wedding ceremony. If once a word had been given the conjugal bond should not be broken under any circumstances except death.

"Je veux être fidèle, parce que c'est le premier devoir qui lie la famille et toute la société. Je veux être chaste, parce que c'est la première vertu qui nourrit toutes les autres," 73

- says Julie.

Tolstoy makes the same point in his novel, Family Happiness. The heroine of the novel, a young, inexperienced orphan girl, marries an older man, her guardian, whom she believes she loves. They have children. But in the meantime the young woman is brought into Moscow society where she is courted by influential and rich young men. Her love for her husband begins to disappear. She perceives his age and his true appearance and her feeling of love turns slowly to indifference and even hatred. Her husband understands her very well and does not wish to be an obstacle to her popularity and brilliance but still they are married. Although given a free hand, she finally realizes that she owes her husband faithfulness, and, in a crucial moment, she refuses to become another man's mistress.

At the conclusion of the novel the heroine says:

73. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 324.

" From that day forth my romance with my husband was ended; the old feeling became a precious, irrevocable memory; but the new feeling of love to my children and to the father of my children formed the beginning of another life, happy indeed, but in an entirely different way, and this I have continued to live up to the present moment ..." ⁷⁴

Under the influence of Rousseau Tolstoy began to look upon his serfs as his kinsmen. ⁷⁵ He had a passionate desire to better their condition. ⁷⁶ He began to idealize the soil and its cultivators - the simple peasant, who for Tolstoy was a repository of almost as rich a stock of natural virtues as Rousseau's noble savage. ⁷⁷ Of course, this idealization of simple peasant belongs rather to the later works of Tolstoy, after 1878 when he had undergone a moral change, but in his early works the love for common folk is also clearly visible.

Rousseau expresses his affection for and closeness to country folk in La Nouvelle Héloïse. During his wanderings in the Valais country Saint-Preux observes the life and customs of the mountaineers. He lives among them ⁷⁸ enjoying their hospitality and admiring their good heart. The Wolmar family respect and love simple peasants. They are always attentive to the older village folks. They invite them to their house and honor their simple customs. ⁷⁹

⁷⁴. Family Happiness, p. 330.

⁷⁵. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 33.

⁷⁶. Ibid., p. 33.

⁷⁷. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 42.

⁷⁸. See La Nouvelle Héloïse, Lettre XXIII - A Julie.

⁷⁹. See Ibid., p. 510 - 11.

I have already pointed out that in his novel The Cossacks, Tolstoy shows his interest and love for the simple Caucasian Cossacks. The hero of the book, Olyenin, prefers the friendship of the old man Yeroshka to that of his fellow officers. Prince Nekhliudoff of A Russian Proprietor looks upon his peasants as his kinsmen. He visits them and tries to help them. A feeling of affection for simple folk is found also in Nikolyenka Irteneff, the hero of Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth.

Already as a young writer Tolstoy began to realize that the peasants are of the utmost importance in every society. These views he accepted as irrefutable facts in his later life. On this subject he was greatly influenced by the following passage from Emile:

"C'est le peuple, qui compose le genre humain; ce qui n'est pas peuple est si peu de chose, que ce n'est pas la peine de le compter. L'homme est le même dans tous les états; si cela est, les états les plus nombreux méritent le plus de respect ... Etudiez les gens de cet ordre, vous verrez que, sous un autre langage, ils ont autant d'esprit et plus de bon sens que vous." 80

Closely connected with this feeling of affection toward common folk was Rousseau's idea that there is a superiority of heart and feeling over head, of moral over intellectual considerations. His views were that a human being should lead a life of unselfish devotion and love toward his fellow creatures. Rousseau's beloved Julie in La Nouvelle Héloïse

80. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, Cambridge, 1911, vol. XXVI, p. 1056.

81. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 43.

lives according to these rules. She experiences a feeling of happiness looking back into the past from her deathbed because she feels that her life, full of love for her children, full of devotion and affection for her husband, her relatives, friends, and servants, was well spent. Shortly before she dies she utters with satisfaction the words:

"La sensibilité porte toujours dans l'âme un certain contentement de soi-même, indépendant de la fortune et des événements." 82

Tolstoy was greatly influenced by these views, especially in the works of his latter period. However, traces of them can be found very distinctly in his two early novels. Reflecting on the feeling of happiness, the heroine of Family Happiness wholeheartedly agrees with the ideas of her husband and says:

"Nor vainly spoken was his remark that there is only one enduring happiness in life - to live for others. It seemed to me strange at the time; I did not understand it; but this conviction had unconsciously penetrated into my heart." 83

Olyenin discovers a similar idea during his life in the Caucasus:

"And suddenly it seemed as if a new world were revealed to him. 'This is what happiness is', he said to himself. 'Happiness consists in living for others.' " 84

Tolstoy's reading of Rousseau's works stimulated his self-consciousness and urged him constantly to confession. 85

82. La Nouvelle Héloïse, p. 572.

83. Family Happiness, p. 244.

84. The Cossacks, p. 104.

85. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 59.

Like Rousseau in his Confessions, which Tolstoy read with such zeal, he also used to make admissions about himself on the pages of his autobiographical novel Youth. Sometimes the incidents in Youth resemble so closely the pages in the Confessions that they indicate the influence of Rousseau on Tolstoy in this respect.

We learn that in his youth Rousseau was a shy boy, but that, despite his shyness, he often fell in love with married women. He writes:

"D'abord les femmes. Les besoins de l'amour me dévorraient au sein de la jouissance. J'avais une tendre mère, une amie chérie; mais il me fallait une maîtresse." 86

A very interesting episode is his falling in love with Mme Basile, the wife of one of his employers. Young Jean-Jacques admired Mme Basile but, on the other hand, he wanted to hide his feelings because of shyness, and all the time he was afraid lest she should discover his secret. 87

The young Tolstoy underwent similar feelings. He describes them in the novel Youth. Its hero Nikolyenka Irteneff notes:

"Affairs of the heart engrossed my attention a good deal in the course of the winter. I was in love three times. Once I fell passionately in love with a very plump lady who rode in the Freytag riding-school, in consequence of which I went to the school every Tuesday and Friday - the days on which she rode - in order to gaze at her; but on every occasion I was so much afraid that she would see me, and for that reason I always stood so far away from her,..." 88

86. Les Confessions, p. 205.

87. See Ibid., p. 67 - 69.

88. Youth, p. 343.

Later on he admits:

" When I was in love with strangers, and especially with married women, I was overwhelmed with a shyness which was a thousand times more powerful than that which I had experienced in Sonitchka's case." 89

According to his own statements in the Confessions Rousseau was in his youth a naturally shy boy. Even when he grew up he had some kind of inferiority complex and he always feared that he knew less than other people, that he was less well educated, and not so intelligent. This feeling probably developed out of his shyness.

Tolstoy, always trying to identify himself with his beloved teacher as closely as possible, used to find similar characteristics in himself. As I have already mentioned, he was also shy when a boy and an inferiority complex, very much like that of Rousseau's developed in him during his adolescence. This he notices in Youth:

" I can boldly assert ", says Irteneff, " that I was much better in reality than the strange being which I endeavored to represent as myself; but nevertheless, and represent myself as I would, the Nekhliudoffs liked me, and happily for me as it turned out, did not believe in my dissimulation." 90

To conclude the field of influences of Rousseau on Tolstoy's ideas one can add that when the latter was organizing the school for peasant children on his estate, Yasnaïa Poliana, in Summer of 1861, he accepted Rousseau's system of education as expounded in Emile which consisted in giving pupils a very great freedom.

89. Youth, p. 344.

90. Ibid., p. 354.

From this review of Tolstoy's indebtedness during the early years of his literary career to Rousseau we can see how great, how important, and how universal was the influence of the famous French philosopher on the developing Russian man of letters. The three aspects: nature, dislike of civilization and society, and the approach to social problems in which Tolstoy was greatly influenced by Rousseau form the central point of his writings in this period. There is hardly a work of that time in which he does not touch, to some extent, ^{on} ~~to~~ at least one of these three aspects. But this influence is not limited to the points mentioned above. It extends to other vital questions and problems, like family life, affection for peasants, and the belief that real happiness can be attained by living for others. As we saw these points also play an important part in Tolstoy's works. Summing all this evidence up, and adding some lesser aspects in which Tolstoy was indebted to Rousseau we may conclude that the influence of Rousseau can hardly be overestimated.

CHAPTER III

GEORGE SAND

Generally speaking Tolstoy did not like the works of the XIX-th Century French author, Lucile Aurore Dupin, who wrote under the name of George Sand. At the time of Tolstoy's formation as a writer, George Sand was already a famous and prolific novelist, almost an idol among literary circles in Russia.¹ Tolstoy read Sand's novels but he disliked them and was hostile to her views so generally accepted by the most advanced people of Russia's intellectual circles.²

If George Sand influenced young Tolstoy as writer then it was a strong, negative influence. After his return as a hero and as a war correspondent from Sevastopol, late in 1856, Tolstoy was invited by some writer friends to a literary "soirée" in Petersburg. During a discussion of George Sand's new novel which was praised by all, Tolstoy abruptly broke out in a tirade against her, declaring that if the heroines of her novels existed in reality they ought to be tied to the hangman's cart and driven through the streets of the city.³ This very sharp remark needs explanation.

It is well known that George Sand was an advocate of free love and of the abolition of marriage laws. These she motivated by the view that one cannot force a person to love another and to compel him by law to live with someone unloved. These ideas grew out of her own experience,

1. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 94.

2. Rahv, The Short Novels of Tolstoy, Preface, p. XVI.

3. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 94.

since in 1822 she married M. Dudevant, had by him two children, and in 1831 she divorced him. Later on she lived unmarried with Musset in Italy and with Chopin in Switzerland, to mention only two of her lovers. Her views she expressed in her novels, a very large number of which deal with the topic of love.

George Sand's ideas on love and marriage, although they may be sound to many people today, were considered as something almost revolutionary at that time. In her novel Valentine the hero says:

" La raison de vivre, c'est l'amour; le droit de vivre cesse avec lui. Ceux qui persistent à trainer sur la terre l'inutile fardeau d'une existence sans amour sont des âmes faibles qui n'ont pas su trouver en elles l'énergie d'une résolution suprême." 6

Still more "progressive" are her views on marriage. In another novel, Jacques, she has the hero exclaim:

" Je ne doute pas que le mariage ne soit aboli, si l'espèce humaine fait quelque progrès vers la justice et la raison; un lieu plus humain et non moins sacré remplacera celui-là, et saura assurer l'existence des enfants qui naîtront d'un homme et d'une femme, sans enchaîner jamais la liberté de l'un et de l'autre. Mais les hommes sont trop grossiers et les femmes trop lâches, pour demander une loi plus noble que la loi de fer qui les régit; à des êtres sans conscience et sans vertu il faut de lourdes chaînes." 7

Of course, such libertarian ideas did not appeal to the staunch follower of Rousseau who considered marriage as something sacred and lasting. Also in love, as presented

4. Sand, G., Les Maîtres Sonneurs, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1910, Preface, p. XIX.

5. Ibid., Preface, p. XXI.

6. Caro, E., George Sand, Librairie Hachette, Paris, 1904, p. 74.

7. Ibid., p. 89 - 90.

by George Sand in her novels, he saw sheer animalism in man, disguised under a cloak of poetry and aesthetic feeling.⁸

Provoked by Sand's views and by the adoration of her by virtually all the Petersburg writers, including Dostoyevski, Tolstoy wrote in 1859 a novel, Family Happiness,⁹ which appeared to be a polemical rejoinder to George Sand. In this book he clearly expounded his views on the question of marriage and free love. Family Happiness refers especially to two of George Sand's novels, Jacques and Valvèdre, in which the latter presents her conceptions of love and family life.

In Jacques Sand pictures a woman who married a man of her own free will because she loved him. She wanted to build an ideal of married life, and was in the beginning convinced that her marriage was going to last for ever. But after a few years the heroine of the novel, Fernande, falls in love with another man. The family and its happiness break apart. The children die of sickness, and her husband, in deep melancholy commits suicide, and thus Fernande is left free to follow her inclinations.¹⁰

The plot of the novel Valvèdre is somewhat similar to that of Jacques. Here Mme Sand wants to prove that

"le mariage tombe de soi avec l'amour." 11

8. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 127.

9. Rahv, The Short Novels of Tolstoy, Preface, p. XVII.

10. See Caro, George Sand, p. 91.

11. Ibid., p. 95.

Her idea is that when the love of one spouse expires the marriage itself ceases, in reality, to exist. A married woman, Alida, does not love her husband, Valvèdre, but falls passionately in love with another man. But her husband is a different type from the hero of the novel Jacques. He knows that he cannot retain the love of Alida, however he is not so desperate as Jacques as to sacrifice himself in order to let his wife love the man she desires. He finds his consolation in studies and does not abdicate his role and duties as husband. He does not willingly relinquish his wife to her lover, and through his persistence he manages to win Alida back, although already on her ¹² deathbed, from his rival.

Tolstoy's novel Family Happiness presents the heroine in a completely different light. Marya Alexandrovna after her marriage with her guardian, Sergyei Mikhailuitch, whom she believes she loves, is, inspite of all, faithful to her husband, who is more than twice her age. But she is a very inexperienced young girl and soon after her initiation into higher Moscow society she begins to regret her rash resolution to bind herself to such an old man. Sergyei Mikhailuitch perceives the change in his youthful wife; he would like to help her but it is already too late, since they have been married a long while and have two children. The situation between them grows worse and worse. Marya

12. See Caro, George Sand, p. 95 - 96.

Alexandrovna discovers the new allurments of rich, glittering social life - the young and handsome men who court her in flocks. She begins to grow indifferent toward her aged husband, she even begins to hate him since, according to her views, he prevents her from attaining happiness. All would indicate that Marya Alexandrovna is going to follow in the footsteps of George Sand's heroines. But in reality something very different happens. Marya, indeed, comes very close to forming a liaison with a handsome, dandified Italian marchese. She says to herself:

" I am so unhappy, so why not let an unhappiness still greater and more hopeless accumulate on my head ! " 13

But this is only a momentary, subconscious, desire. She does not yield to temptation. She decides to preserve her solidarity with her husband and she acts accordingly:

" I came to my senses, tore myself away from his arms, and, without looking at him, almost ran after L.M. We took our seats in the carriage, and I scarcely deigned to give him a parting glance. He took off his hat and asked some question with a smile. He could not understand the inexpressible loathing which I felt for him at that moment." 14

Tolstoy's heroine is not going to break her marriage vows; she is not going to leave her husband and let their home be broken. She clearly sees her responsibility toward her spouse and children. According to her love is not everything in this world, as George Sand preaches, but

" to make a 'sacrifice' of yourself is the basis of 'family happiness'." 15

13. Family Happiness, p. 315.

14. Ibid., p. 316.

15. Ibid., p. 304.

Despite the belief prevalent at the time that a young married woman of higher society might have connections with young men, Marya Alexandrovna stopped just in time to prevent the development of such immoral love. Free of the libertarian ideas professed by George Sand and her heroines, Marya acknowledged her guilt for having almost yielded to temptation:

" All my married life, from the day of our arrival at Petersburg, suddenly appeared before me in a new light, and lay like a burden on my conscience. For the first time I had a lively recollection of our early married life in the country, and our plans ... And I felt that I was guilty toward him." 16

She complains to her husband that he allowed her to be so free:

" Why have you never told me what you wished, so that I might have lived in exact accordance with your wishes ? Why have you given me such perfect freedom, when I was unfit to make good use of it ? Why did you cease to teach me ?" 17

George Sand's emancipated husbands and wives behave quite differently in similar circumstances. Fernande in the novel Jacques demands her freedom in love, and her husband, Jacques, must admit that she is right:

" Nulle créature humaine ne peut commander à l'amour, et nul n'est coupable pour ressentir et pour le perdre." 18

Even more, Eugénie of the novel Horace comes out with the following statement:

" Ceux mêmes qui auraient quelque droit de se plaindre, comme les maris abandonnés, sont les premiers, quand ils ont de grandes âmes, à répandre leur bénédiction héroïque sur

16. Family Happiness, p. 316 - 17.

17. Ibid., p. 325.

18. Caro, George Sand, p. 79 - 80.

le couple adultere."¹⁹ 19

Tolstoy disagreed completely with Mme Sand's ideas of emancipation of women. Behind her sonorous words on emancipation in her novels he saw an attempt to justify the wanton indecency of her own conduct.²⁰ The question of family life and of free love is a very important theme with Tolstoy. In his early works only Family Happiness²¹ deals with this subject, but later on, two of his masterpieces, Kreutzer Sonata and Anna Karenina, treat the question.

Thus George Sand cannot be said to have exercised a positive influence on him; but, in reacting against her views, he was led to a clearer understanding and a stronger affirmation of his own views, which, as we have seen, had already undergone the influence of Rousseau.

19. Caro, George Sand, p. 79.

20. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 75.

21. It is characteristic that although Family Happiness is a work of very high moral value, and, at the same time, a wonderful study of a woman's soul presented in poetic language, the Soviet critics consider it as a failure, perhaps because it does not conform to the party ideology. (See Tolstoy, L.N., Sobranye Sochineni, Gos. Izd. Khud. Lit., Moscow, 1951, vol. I, Preface, p. XIII.)

CHAPTER IV

STENDHAL

In his Sevastopol Sketches Tolstoy struck a new note in Russian literature and a relatively new one in Western literatures - sheer naturalism in the description of war. In this respect he was greatly indebted to Marie-Henri Beyle, who, under the pseudonym of Stendhal, taught him to understand war. ¹ Tolstoy himself admitted that all he had learnt about war he had learnt from Stendhal's description of the battle of Waterloo in La Chartreuse de Parme, where ² Fabrice wanders about the battlefield understanding nothing.

Tolstoy was dissatisfied with the artificial, romantic, and bombastic pseudo-classical descriptions of war which he had encountered in literature. ³ His brother Nikolai used to declare that ^{the} popular romantic view of war was all embellishment, whereas in real war there is no embellishment, and Tolstoy himself was of the same mind since he had an exceptional opportunity in the ⁴ Crimea to see with his own eyes that such was the case. He had to work out a method of his own for his war canvases, and he found a hint of what he wanted in Stendhal. Tolstoy liked the ruthless disclosure of man's psychological machinery composed of such wheels as vanity, fear, envy, love, shame, turning behind such ⁵ words as "heroism", "patriotism", "courage", etc. He began

1. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 87.

2. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 47.

3. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 71.

4. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 87.

5. Nazaroff, Tolstoy,..., p. 71.

to experiment, to develop Stendhal's method further and further, to elaborate, building from it a manner of his own.
6

Stendhal presents in his novel La Chartreuse de Parme a young, enthusiastic Italian marchesino, Fabrice del Dongo, who, fired with admiration for Napoleon and with a desire to fight in a real battle, travels from Italy to Belgium in order to take part, as a volunteer, in the Battle of Waterloo. Having arrived in the vicinity of the field of action, Fabrice is surprised that no one shares his ardent zeal for war, Napoleon, and fighting. He is still a novice in this respect and he cannot understand the real attitude to war of those soldiers and people who saw it and experienced it personally. For Fabrice war is something idealistic, something much more majestic and magnificent than the affairs of ordinary life; for those who know war, it means evil, death, hunger, and suffering. Young and inexperienced as he is, he does not fail to see that:

" La guerre n'était donc pas ce noble et commun élan d'âmes amantes de la gloire qu'il s'était figuré d'après les proclamations de Napoléon !" 7

Fabrice is only seventeen years of age; therefore he is not liable to conscription, and besides, he descends from rich Italian nobility. What he does is rather because of curiosity and desire to win "military glory" than because

6. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 71.

7. Stendhal, La Chartreuse de Parme, Le Divan, Paris, 1927, p. 89.

of conviction or necessity. On the field of battle he wanders to and fro joining different outfits and parties with the sole idea of showing himself brave and tenacious in every situation. The day is already over and, French troops being in flight and disorder, nobody pays any attention to him thus allowing him to observe the field of battle and the retreat.

As a matter of fact, Stendhal's presentation of the Battle of Waterloo was a first hand experience: it was 8 Stendhal himself who in 1800 viewed the Battle of Marengo.

Realistic elements are clearly visible in Stendhal's description of war. One of the first is the scene where Fabrice encounters for the first time in his life a dead soldier:

" Fabrice restait glace. Ce qui le frappait surtout c'était la saleté des pieds de ce cadavre qui déjà était dépouillé de ses souliers, et auquel on n'avait laisse qu'un mauvais pantalon tout souillé de sang." 9

But he does not want to show himself coward:

" Fabrice se jeta à bas de cheval et prit la main du cadavre qu'il secoua ferme; puis il resta comme anéanti; il sentait qu'il n'avait pas la force de remonter à cheval. Ce qui lui faisait horreur surtout c'était cet oeil ouvert." 10

Riding as an escort of some senior French officers on the battlefield Fabrice enters the field covered with fallen English soldiers:

" - Les habits rouges ! Les habits rouges ! criaient

8. Josephson, Matthew, Stendhal, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1946, p. 60.

9. La Chartreuse de Parme, p. 68.

10. Ibid., p. 69.

avec joie les hussards de l'escorte, et d'abord Fabrice ne comprenait pas; enfin il remarqua qu'en effet presque tous les cadavres étaient vêtus de rouge. Une circonstance lui donna un frisson d'horreur; il remarqua que beaucoup de ces malheureux habits rouges vivaient encore; ils criaient évidemment pour demander du secours, et personne ne s'arrêtait pour leur en donner. Notre héros, fort humain, se donnait toutes les peines du monde pour que son cheval ne mit les pieds sur aucun habit rouge. L'escorte s'arrêta; Fabrice, qui ne faisait pas assez d'attention à son devoir de soldat, galopait toujours en regardant un malheureux blessé." 11

Sometimes Stendhal's descriptions of war assume the naturalistic colour which so greatly influenced Tolstoy in his presentations. Following his officers Fabrice witnesses the most abhorrent scenes of war. He is especially struck by the sight of a wounded horse:

" Ce qui lui sembla horrible, ce fut un cheval tout sanglant qui se débattait sur la terre labourée, en engageant ses pieds dans ses propres entrailles; il voulait suivre les autres: le sang coulait dans la boue." 12

A cannon ball falls in the midst of Fabrice's party and:

" Fabrice entendit un petit bruit singulier tout près de lui: il tourna la tête, quatre hommes étaient tombés avec leurs chevaux; le général lui-même avait été renversé, mais il se relevait tout couvert de sang. Fabrice regardait les hussards jetés par terre: trois faisaient encore quelques mouvements convulsifs, le quatrième criait: Tirez-moi de dessous." 13

Fabrice cannot stand the sight of a crude operation performed on a wounded soldier:

" Un fort vilain spectacle attendait là le nouveau soldat; on coupait la cuisse à un cuirassier, beau jeune homme de cinq pieds dix pouces. Fabrice ferma les yeux et but coup sur coup quatre verres d'eau-de-vie." 14

11. La Chartreuse de Parme, p. 76.

12. Ibid., p. 78.

13. Ibid., p. 86.

14. Ibid., p. 82.

The young marchesino tries to be brave but he cannot conquer his fear and horror during his initiation to the war. Viewing the corpse of a dead soldier he almost becomes ill:

" La figure de Fabrice, très-pâle naturellement, prit une teinte verte fort prononcée ..." 15

His main concern is to preserve his sang-froid and not to show his fear:

" La vivandière va me croire un lâche, se disait-il avec amertume;" 16

But, little by little, he comes to himself and starts to act coolly. Soon he sees himself a real old hand in the trade of war:

" Ah ! m'y voilà donc enfin au feu ! se dit il. J'ai vu le feu ! se répétait-il avec satisfaction. Me voici un vrai militaire." 17

In his presentation of war Tolstoy went much further toward naturalism than Stendhal. However, in his artistic treatment of the theme of war, the influence was undeniably Stendhal's. Like Stendhal, he suggested the evil, crass egoism and vanity of the pseudo-heroic by a ruthless analysis of conventional thinking about military glory. 18

The first result of Tolstoy's experimentation with Stendhal's method of treatment of war was the story The Invaders. 19

15. La Chartreuse de Parme, p. 68.

16. Ibid., p. 69.

17. Ibid., p. 78.

18. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 91.

19. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 71.

Russian troops in the Caucasus go on a local expedition against the rebellious mountaineers. After the task has been completed, the troops withdraw, harrassed on all sides by small parties of warlike tribesmen. The author of the story draws a contrast during this occasion between an old captain and his young enthusiastic lieutenant. The captain, experienced in war tries to withdraw his troops as fast as he can without engaging the fierce mountaineers in order to save the lives of his men. On the other hand, the behaviour of the young lieutenant was rather provocative. To him war seemed fun, as it did at first to Stendhal's Fabrice, and he wanted to perform some heroic deed. Disobeying his superior, the captain, he leads his men into an unnecessary attack in which several lives are lost and he himself is mortally wounded. Of course, for Tolstoy the real hero is not the rash, enthusiastic
20 lieutenant but the cool, old captain.

In his sketch Sevastopol in August Tolstoy very closely follows the plot of Stendhal's Battle of Waterloo from La Chartreuse de Parme. The indebtedness in this sketch to Stendhal cannot be denied. The difference exists only in Tolstoy's further development of the war theme and in a much richer and exacter presentation of scenes of battle.

For his hero in Sevastopol in August the author chooses a young military cadet, Vladimir Kozeltzoff. Like Fabrice, he is only seventeen years old, he burns with the desire

to fight and wishes to win military glory on the field of battle. A cadet fresh from the military school, he volunteers to serve in the Crimean War and is sent to defend the fortress of Sevastopol. Arriving in the neighbourhood of the front lines he unexpectedly meets his elder brother, lieutenant Mikhaïl Kozeltzoff, just returning to his unit from the military hospital where he has spent about a month recovering from wounds received in action. Mikhaïl is well acquainted with war and he cannot suppress the feeling of pity and regret for his young brother arriving of his own free will to this hell on earth. He and other officers and soldiers cannot understand Volodya's enthusiasm for war: they think him mad for having made such a foolish resolution.

The younger Kozeltzoff, hoping to find in Sevastopol a bright, gaudy picture of war, the one he has painted for himself in his imagination, like Fabrice, finds an image of destruction, death, and suffering. Before going to the front lines Mikhaïl takes him to visit a wounded friend officer in the field-hospital. Volodya is struck by a horrifying scene of human suffering:

" Come along; what are you staring at ? said Kozeltzoff to Volodya, who, with uplifted eyebrows and somewhat suffering expression of countenance, could not tear himself away, but continued to stare at the wounded." 21

The feeling of fear so vividly experienced by Fabrice at the beginning of his military career is even greater

21. Tolstoï, Complete Works, vol. XI, Sevastopol in August,
p. 295.

with Volodya. Going for the first time, under the fire of the enemy, to his position Volodya experiences a devastating fear:

" All at once he felt himself entirely and finally alone. This consciousness of solitude in danger before death, as it seemed to him, lay upon his heart like a terribly cold and heavy stone.

He halted in the middle of the square, glanced about him, to see whether he could catch sight of any one, grasped his head, and uttered his thought aloud in his terror: 'Lord ! Can it be that I am a coward, a vile, disgusting, worthless coward can it be that I so lately dreamed of dying with joy for my fatherland, my Tzar ? No, I am an unfortunate, wretched being ! ' " 22

His first encounter with the dead fills him with horror, as is the case with Fabrice:

" Four sailors standing near the breastworks were holding the bloody body of a man, without shoes or coat, by its arms and legs, and getting into swing in an effort to fling it over the ramparts. Volodya stood petrified for a moment, as he saw the corpse waver on the summit of the breastworks, and then roll down into the ditch." 23

But soon Volodya gets used to cannon shots, to bombs, bullets and death. Like Stendhal's marchesino, he is proud of taking part in a real, bloody battle:

" So here I am also on the Malakoff mound, which I imagined to be thousand times more terrible ! And I can walk along without ducking my head before the bombs, and am less terrified than the rest ! So I am not a coward, after all ! " 24

However, Volodya's pride and military career are of very short duration. He has the bad luck to join the ranks of defenders on the eve of the enemy's attack of fort

22. Sevastopol in August, p. 299.

23. Ibid., p. 322.

24. Ibid., p. 321.

Malakoff. He is killed during the assault:

" All at once a startling cry of despair, repeated by several voices, was heard on the left: 'They are surrounding us ! They are surrounding us !'

Volodya looked round at this shout. Twenty Frenchmen made their appearance in the rear. One of them, a handsome man with a black beard, was in front of all; but after running up to within ten paces of the battery, he halted, and fired straight at Volodya, and then ran toward him once more." 25

Influenced by Stendhal's realism Tolstoy wanted to present a true picture of war in his Sevastopol Sketches. In this respect he writes:

" The hero of my tale, whom I love with all the strength of my soul, whom I have tried to set forth in all his beauty, and who has always been, is, and always will be most beautiful, is - the truth." 26

But in order to give us this picture of strict, impartial truth, the author had to apply the naturalistic methods of description, indicated to him by Stendhal. Here is one of his blood-curdling scenes:

" The vast, dark, lofty hall, lighted only by the four or five candles which the doctors were carrying about to inspect the wounded, was literally full. The stretcherbearers incessantly brought in the wounded, ranged them one beside another on the floor, which was already so crowded that the unfortunate wretches jostled each other and sprinkled each other with their blood, and went forth for more. The pools of blood which were visible on the unoccupied places, the hot breaths of several hundred men, and the steam which rose from those who were toiling with the stretchers produced a peculiar, thick, heavy, offensive atmosphere, in which the candles burned dimly in the different parts of the room. The dull murmur of diverse groans, sighs, death-rattles, broken now and again by a shriek, was borne throughout the apartment. " 27

The following picture of the same kind has some si-

25. Sevastopol in August, p. 336.

26. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol.XI, Sevastopol in May, p. 268.

27. Ibid., p. 243 - 44.

milarity with the scene in which Fabrice encounters the dead soldier but it is much more horrible. During the truce throngs of people pour in between the lines to look at the image of death. Among them there is a boy of ten:

" On his way home with a large bouquet, he held his nose because of the odor which the wind wafted to him, and paused beside a pile of corpses, which had been carried off the field, and stared long at one terrible, headless body, which chanced to be the nearest to him. After standing there for a long while, he stepped up closer, and touched with his foot the stiffened arm of the corpse which protruded. The arm swayed a little. He touched it again, and with more vigour. The arm swung back, and then fell into place again. And at once the boy uttered a shriek, hid his face in the flowers, and ran off to the fortifications as fast as he could go." 28

Nothing ever won so much praise from active soldiers as Tolstoy's vignettes of episodes in the war, his descriptions of how battles appear to those who are actually engaged in them. No doubt Tolstoy was right in declaring that he owed much to Stendhal for this clear dry light he 29
shed upon the truth. His Sevastopol Sketches, although now exactly one hundred years old, seem to us as something vivid, interesting, and recent. Later on Tolstoy continued using methods borrowed from Stendhal in his battle descriptions of War and Peace.

There exists another respect in which Tolstoy was influenced by Stendhal. It is a psychological aspect - the presentation of adolescent dreams. Of course, this influence is not of such great importance in Tolstoy's early works

28. Sevastopol in May, p. 267.

29. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 48.

and it is not so distinct, since Tolstoy followed not only Stendhal in this, but also other authors like Rousseau, Dickens, and Goethe. However, as the following extracts show, Stendhal's psychological novel Le Rouge et le Noir did serve Tolstoy as a model.

In Le Rouge et le Noir Stendhal presents the history and behaviour of an ambitious, intelligent, and proud adolescent of the lower class, Julien Sorel. Julien is another youthful admirer of Napoleon, and, like his beloved model, he hopes to win in life power, fame, honors, and wealth. He dreams of being loved by beautiful women:

"Dès sa première enfance, il avait eu des moments d'exaltation. Alors il songeait avec délices qu'un jour il serait présenté aux jolies femmes de Paris; il saurait attirer leur attention par quelque action d'éclat. Pourquoi ne serait-il pas aimé de l'une d'elles, comme Bonaparte, pauvre encore, avait été aimé de la brillante madame de Beauharnais ?" 30

Tolstoy's Nikolyenka Irteneff from Youth, a boy about Julien's age, used to have similar dreams:

"Reproach me not because the dreams of youth were as childish as the dreams of childhood and boyhood. I am convinced that if I am fated to live to extreme old age, and my story follows my growth, as an old man of seventy I shall dream in exactly the same impossibly childish way as now. I shall dream of some charming Marie, who will fall in love with me as a toothless old man, as she loved Mazeppa." 31

Even more characteristic are Olyenin's dreams in the Caucasus:

"This dream is about a woman. And now she presents herself to his imagination in the

30. Stendhal, Le Rouge et le Noir, Calmann-Levy, Editeurs, Paris, p. 22, vol. I.

31. Youth, p. 209 - 10.

guise of a Circassian slave among the mountains, a maiden of graceful form, with long braids of hair and deep, submissive eyes.... She is lovely but uncultivated, wild, and rough. During the long winter evenings he begins to educate her. She is clever, receptive, gifted, and quickly adapts herself to all the indispensable requirements of knowledge." 32

During the parade on the occasion of the arrival of the King in Verrières Sorel, in a beautiful uniform, on a fiery horse, day-dreams:

" Son bonheur n'eut plus de bornes, lorsque, passant près du vieux rempart, le bruit de la petite pièce de canon fit sauter son cheval hors du rang. Par un grand hasard, il ne tomba pas; de ce moment il se sentit un héros. Il était officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon et chargeait une batterie." 33

Julien's ambition was to get quickly promotion and power. Made a lieutenant of a regiment through the influence of an important personality, he calculates his future advancement:

" A peine lieutenant, par faveur et depuis deux jours, il calculait déjà que, pour commander en chef à trente ans, au plus tard, comme tous les grands généraux, il fallait à vingt-trois être plus que lieutenant. Il pensait à la gloire et à son fils." 34

The young Volodya Kozeltzoff of Sevastopol in August dreams about military glory and distinction. On his way to Sevastopol he sees in his imagination glorious war scenes:

" We shall both go together, I with the guns, and my brother with his company. All of a sudden, the French throw themselves on us. I begin to fire, and fire on them. I kill a terrible number; but they still continue to run straight at me. Now, it is impossible to fire any longer, and there is no hope for me; all at once my brother rushes out in front with his sword, and I grasp my gun, and we rush on

32. The Cossacks, p. 13.

33. Le Rouge et le Noir, vol. I, p. 99.

34. Ibid., vol. II, p. 196.

with the soldiers.... We all fight; but, at last, I am wounded a second, a third time, and I fall, wounded unto death. Then, all rush up to me. Gortchakoff comes up and asks what I would like. I say that I want nothing - except that I may be laid beside my brother, that I wish to die with him." 35

There is one case of a direct borrowing by Tolstoy from La Chartreuse de Parme. In that novel Stendhal describes Fabrice's arrest as a spy and his sojourn in prison in Belgium. He was there attended by "la belle Flamande", the wife of the jailer:

"... il écrivait lettres sur lettres au commandant de la place, et c'était la femme du geôlier, belle Flamande de trente-six ans, qui se chargeait de les faire parvenir." 36

In Tolstoy's Childhood and Youth Nikolyenka Irteneff, without any particular reason, calls a lady who became his stepmother "la belle Flamande":

" 'La belle Flamande', as you call her, has been staying with me for two weeks past, because her mother has gone off visiting somewhere, and she evinces the most sincere affection by her care for me." 37

Later on, in Youth, this appellation recurs frequently:

" Do you remember the Epifanova, 'la belle Flamande'?" 38

Since "la belle Flamande" was of local Russian nobility, and had nothing in common with Flanders, and, since Tolstoy wrote his novels Childhood and Youth more or less at the time he was reading Stendhal, there is no doubt about the source.

On the whole, the influence of Stendhal on Tolstoy's

35. Sevastopol in August, p. 285.

36. La Chartreuse de Parme, p. 57.

37. Childhood, p. 92.

38. Youth, p. 306.

early works was of considerable importance. Tolstoy's Sevastopol Sketches may be considered as one of the first examples of naturalistic writing in European literature of the XIX-th Century. From the evidence here presented, it is clear that he did not develop this naturalism out of contemporary European theories of realism, but from Stendhal's realistic presentation of war. The picture of adolescent dreams and the borrowing of the appellation "la belle Flamande" form another, less important aspect of Stendhal's influence on Tolstoy.

CHAPTER V

DICKENS

Tolstoy's knowledge of English was weak, compared with his French, which he knew like a native Frenchman. He never had an English tutor during his childhood at home, nor did he learn much English at school or university. What he learned of the English language he taught himself. After his failure at Kazan University, like Franklin, he made ¹ some resolutions, one of which was to learn English.

Tolstoy's favourite English author was Charles Dickens. ² He read Dickens' novels when still a boy and they never ceased to appeal to him in his later years. Serving with the Russian forces in the Caucasus he asked his brother to send him David Copperfield and Saddler's English Dictionary. ³ From this time on he was able to read English writers in the original, although he still had to refer to the dictionary. Later on in February 1861 Tolstoy went to London on an educational mission, and, among other things, he heard Dickens - "a genius born once in a hundred years", - as he declared ⁴ - deliver a lecture on education.

Tolstoy generously admitted to Dickens' "tremendous influence" and called him the most Christian of all English novelists. ⁵ Dickens' affection for ordinary people and his concern for the betterment of his readers won Tolstoy's

1. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 61.

2. Ibid., p. 92.

3. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 71.

4. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 185.

5. Ibid., p. 92.

6

admiration. Although Dickens wrote mainly about city life and Tolstoy in his works was more concerned with the country, novels like David Copperfield and Pickwick Papers in which city and country are contrasted had for Tolstoy great charm and interest.

The influence of Dickens on the early works of Tolstoy is apparent chiefly in his imitation of Dickensian characters and in his presentation of situation. It is true that some of the Dickensian characters are caricatures and that Tolstoy avoided, on the whole, taking them for models, but he very willingly imitated Dickens' more subtle characters. Also several accounts of happenings in Tolstoy's works can be traced to similar ones in Dickens.

Among Tolstoy's works of this period the three earliest novels, Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth, show the greatest influence of Dickens. Undoubtedly, in this early period, Tolstoy borrowed more from his great English model and with the development of his own artistic genius this indebtedness decreased. However, trends of Dickensian influence are visible, less or more, in several of Tolstoy's works of the period.

To begin with Nikolyenka Irteneff's mother, in Childhood, is a reproduction of the portrait of Mrs. Copperfield, in David Copperfield, at the time she married her second husband, Mr. Murdstone. Mrs. Copperfield, or rather Mrs.

Murdstone, is a physically sick and delicate creature with a very weak will. She is wholly subdued in her house to Mr. Murdstone and his sister. She cannot resist their will even if they mistreat her son David.

Natalya Nikolaevna, Nikolyenka's mother, possesses similar characteristics. Her husband is the real proprietor and master of her estate, and she has no word to say. Like Mrs. Copperfield's maid, Peggotty, well realizes her mistress's helplessness in her house, so Irteneff's servants perceive similar things.

"I revere and love Natalya Nikolaevna, but what is she? Her will is of no more consequence in this house than that;" 7

- says the children's valet, flinging a scrap of leather on the floor with an expressive gesture.

It was not Natalya Nikolaevna's destiny to live long. Like Mrs. Copperfield, she dies early in life, and like David, the nine year old Nikolyenka is fetched from his school in Moscow in order to attend to her funeral.

The scene in which Nikolyenka's nurse tells him about his mother's last moments resembles very closely Dickens' presentation. Here is how she describes Natalya Nikolaevna's death:

"After you were taken away, my dear one was restless for a long time as though something oppressed her, then she dropped her head on her pillow, and dozed as quietly and

peacefully as an angel from heaven. I only went out to see why they did not bring her potion. When I returned my darling was throwing herself all about, and beckoning your papa to her; he bent over her, and it was evident that he lacked the power to say what he wished to; she could only open her lips, and begin to groan, 'My God ! O Lord ! The children , the children ! ...' After that she only raised her hand and dropped it again. What she meant by that, God only knows. I think that she was blessing you in your absence, and it was plain that the Lord did not grant her to see her little children before the end. Then my little dove raised herself, kissed her hand, and all at once she spoke in a voice which I cannot bear to think of, 'Mother of God, do not desert them !' " 8

Dickens presents Mrs. Copperfield's death as follows:

" The last time that I saw her like her own self " - tells her maid Peggotty - " was the night when you came home, my dear. The day you went away, she said to me, 'I never shall see my pretty darling again. Something tells me so, that tells the truth, I know' ...

'It's off my mind now, Peggotty', she told me, when I laid her in her bed that night. 'He will believe it more and more, poor fellow, every day for a few days to come; and then it will be passed. I am very tired. If this is sleep, sit by me while I sleep; don't leave me. God bless both my children ! God protect and keep my fatherless boy !'" 9

Natalya Savischna, the nurse, in Childhood is a vivid and exact picture of Peggotty, David's nurse and the Copperfields' maid. The only difference between them is that Savischna is older.

Dickens' Peggotty is a short, plump young woman who, despite her unattractive exterior is endowed with valuable traits of character. She is not just a paid servant. She really belongs to the family, and David feels deep affection for her throughout his life. Peggotty is wholeheartedly

8. Childhood, p. 98.

9. Dickens, Charles, David Copperfield, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1894, vol. I, p. 135.

devoted to the Copperfield family, and it is she who mourns her mistress most. Throughout the book she remains David's truest friend and wellwisher.

In the Russia of Tolstoy's youth children's nurses in landowners' homes were usually chosen from the house-serfs. The "nyanya" - children's nurse - was a very familiar figure in XIX-th Century Russia but in the case of Childhood there is much of Peggotty in the description of Tolstoy's Natalya Savischna. She too was

" a plump, redcheeked, barefooted, but merry girl," 10 and although unattractive she possessed a heart of gold. She spent almost all her life in devoted service to her masters and having gained the confidence of all members of the family, they considered her as a very close relation. The death of her mistress, Natalya Nikolaevna, deals the severest of blows to Savischna. She really loved her mistress:

" In the far corner of the hall, almost concealed by the open door of the butler's pantry, knelt a bowed and gray-haired woman. With clasped hands, and eyes raised to heaven, she neither wept nor prayed. Her soul soared impetuously up to God, and she besought him to let her join the one whom she loved more than all on earth, and she confidently hoped that it would be soon. 'There is one who loved her truly !' thought I, and I was ashamed of myself." 11

The characteristics of Miss Murdstone went to make up the picture of Mimi, the governess of Irteneff girls. Miss Murdstone is an elderly lady, very harsh and sour and never satisfied. She is a perfect image of the misanthrope, dis-

10. Childhood, p. 41.

11. Ibid., p. 102 - 103.

trusting and disliking everyone, finding fault with everybody and everything. She never laughs, she never smiles, and her tongue is always sharp and biting.

Mimi is Miss Murdstone's reflection. She behaves in the same way as Miss Murdstone and she is similarly disliked by everyone. Tolstoy thus describes Mimi:

" Marya Ivanovna was sitting with much dignity in one of the arm-chairs, symmetrically arranged at right angles to the divan, and giving instructions in a stern, repressed voice to the girls who sat beside her. As soon as Karl Ivanitch entered the room, she glanced at him, but immediately turned away; and her face assumed an expression which might have been interpreted to mean: 'I do not see you, Karl Ivanitch'....

What an intolerable creature that Mimi was ! It was impossible to talk about anything in her presence; she considered everything improper. Moreover, she was constantly exhorting us to speak French, and that, as if out of malice, just when we wanted to chatter in Russian; or at dinner - you would just begin to enjoy a dish, and want to be let alone, when she would infallibly say, 'Eat that with bread', or, 'How are you holding your fork ?'" 12

Miss Murdstone's brother, Edward, served Tolstoy as the model for the French tutor in Childhood, St. Jérôme. Dickens' Edward Murdstone is a rather young man, tall and handsome, but, on the other hand, very ambitious, imperious, and cruel. Like his sister, he likes to torment his wife, David, and the maid Peggotty.

Tolstoy attributes the same characteristics to Nikolyenka's tutor, St. Jérôme. This can be best seen in a scene which very closely resembles one in David Copperfield. One day Nikolyenka Irteneff did not prepare his lessons and was

to be punished for that by St. Jérôme. The following is Tolstoy's account of the scene, in Boyhood:

"'Very well', he said, following me; 'several times already, I have promised to punish you and your grand-mamma has wanted to beg you off; but now I see that nothing but the rod will make you mind, and you have fully deserved it to-day'.

He said this so loudly that every one heard his words. The blood retreated to my heart with unusual force. I felt that it was beating violently, that the color fled from my face, and that my lips trembled quite involuntarily. I must have looked terrible at that moment, for St. Jérôme, avoiding my glance, walked quickly up to me and seized me by the hand; but I no sooner felt the touch of his hand, than I became giddy, and, beside myself with rage, I tore my hand away, and struck him with all my childish strength ...

'Let me alone !' I shrieked at him through my tears; 'not one of you loves me, nor understands how unhappy I am. You are all hateful, disgusting', I added, turning to the whole company in a sort of fury.

But this time St. Jérôme came up to me with a pale, determined face, and before I had time to prepare for defense, he grasped both my hands as in a vise, with a powerful movement, and dragged me away ...

Five minutes later, the garret door closed behind me.

'Basil !' said he, in a revolting, triumphant voice, 'bring the rods.' 13

Since that time on the only sentiment that Nikolyenka felt toward his tutor was hatred.

Dickens' incident of David's punishment for the same reason runs like this:

" He walked me up to my room slowly and gravely - I am certain he had a delight in that formal parade of executing justice - and when we got there, suddenly twisted my head under his arm.

'Mr. Murdstone ! Sir !' I cried to him. 'Don't ! Pray don't beat me ! I have tried to learn, sir, but I can't learn while you and Miss Murdstone are by. I can't indeed !'

'Can't you, indeed, David ?' he said. 'We will try that.'

He had my head as in a vice, but I twined round him

somehow, and stopped him for a moment, entreating him not to beat me. It was only for a moment that I stopped him, for he cut me heavily an instant afterwards, and in the same instant I caught the hand with which he held me in my mouth, between my teeth on edge to think of it.

He beat me then, as if he would have beaten me to death. Above all the noise we made, I heard them running up the stairs, and crying out - I heard my mother crying out - and Peggotty. Then he was gone; and the door was locked outside; and I was lying, fevered and hot, and torn, and sore, and raging in my puny way, upon the floor." 14

It was from Dickens that Tolstoy borrowed an episode of hero worship for his novel Childhood. Young David Copperfield, when sent to a boarding school for the first time, meets there an older pupil who appeals to him greatly both in physique and character. This young fellow whom Dickens represents as Steerforth in David Copperfield is endowed with the most attractive characteristics. He is tall, handsome, strong, extremely intelligent, well behaved, honest, friendly, good-hearted, and finally rich. It is no wonder that David begins to admire him.

In Childhood such a paragon for Nikolyenka Irteneff is Serozha Ivin. Nikolyenka falls in love with him:

" The second Ivin, Serozha, was a dark-complexioned, curly-headed boy, with a determined, turned-up little nose, very fresh red lips, which seldom completely covered the upper row of his white teeth, very handsome dark blue eyes, and a remarkably alert expression of countenance. He never smiled, but either looked quite serious, or laughed heartily with a distinct, ringing, and very attractive laugh. His original beauty struck me at first sight. I felt for him an unconquerable liking." 15

This admiration of perfection in a fellow human being

14. David Copperfield, vol. I, p. 58.

15. Childhood, p. 68.

which, on the part of David, persists throughout the first volume of David Copperfield, comes forth quite often in Tolstoy's novels Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth.

Tolstoy also borrowed descriptions of some Dickensian scenes or even sometimes adapted the scenes themselves. In the very beginning of Childhood Tolstoy presents a picture of a lunch after a hunt which very vividly resembles a similar incident from Dickens' Pickwick Papers.

Tired hunters after a long outing reach a certain spot at noon where a cart with a tasty lunch and drinks is waiting for them to sooth their hunger and thirst. A table-cloth is spread on the grass under the shade of the trees, all kinds of choice pieces are unloaded from the cart, and everybody enjoys this snack under the naked sky.

In Pickwick Papers it is the boy who brings out the lunch basket to the hunters (they are not so numerous as in Childhood). The eatables and drinks are unpacked and on the verdant grass, under an old oak-tree, Mr. Pickwick's party sit down to their lunch.

There is an incident in Childhood which is almost identical with a situation in David Copperfield and which indicates how greatly Tolstoy was indebted to Dickens. The event in both cases is the first ball: for David in David Copperfield and for Nikolyenka in Childhood.

16. See Childhood, p. 26 - 29.

17. See Dickens, Charles, Pickwick Papers, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1894, vol. I, p. 264 - 67.

Young David is for the first time invited to a ball given by some people of local importance. David is infatuated with an older girl who has already a suitor but despite the suitor's presence he, a mere boy, manages to win the lady for the dance:

" The time arrives. 'It is a waltz, I think', Miss Larkins doubtfully observes, when I present myself. 'Do you waltz ? If not, Captain Bailey -'

But I do waltz (pretty well, too, as it happens), and I take Miss Larkins out. I take her sternly from the side of Captain Bailey. He is wretched, I have no doubt; but he is nothing to me. I have been wretched, too. I waltz with the eldest Miss Larkins ! I don't know where, among whom, or how long. I only know that I swim about in space, with a blue angel, in a state of blissful delirium, ...

Miss Larkins, laughing, draws her hand through my arm, and says, 'Now, take me back to Captain Bailey.'"¹⁸ 18

Tolstoy's Nikolyenka also goes for the first time to a party held in the house of rich Moscow nobility. He too falls "deeply" in love with one of his girl acquaintances. He wants to show himself bold:

" Serozha proposed to me to be his vis-à-vis. 'Very well', said I, 'I have no partner, but I will find one.' Casting a decisive glance about the room, I perceived that all ladies were engaged with the exception of one big girl, who was standing at the parlor door. A tall young man approached her with the intention, as I concluded, of inviting her to dance; he was within a couple of paces of her, but I was at the other end of the hall. In the twinkling of an eye, I flew across the space which separated me from her, sliding gracefully over the polished floor, and with a scrape of my foot and a firm voice, I invited her for the contra-dance. The big girl smiled patronizingly, gave me her hand, and the young man was left partnerless.

I was so conscious of my power, that I paid no heed to the young man's vexation; but I afterwards learned that

18. David Copperfield, vol. I, p. 275 - 76.

he inquired who that frowsy boy was, who had jumped in front of him and taken away his partner." 19

In David Copperfield Dickens presents a girl, Agnes Wickfield, whose father adored her. Whenever she played the piano for him he would look pensively at her, for she vividly reminded him of his deceased wife. The following is a short presentation of one of Dickens' scenes concerning Agnes and her father:

"There he sat, taking his wine, and taking a good deal of it, for two hours; while Agnes played on the piano, worked, and talked to him and me. He was, for the most part, gay and cheerful with us; but sometimes his eyes rested on her, and he fell into a brooding state, and was silent. She always observed this quickly, as I thought, and always roused him with a question or caress. Then he came out of his meditation, and drank more wine." 20

In Tolstoy's Boyhood we find Irteneff's father who behaves similarly toward his daughter Liubotchka after his wife's death. Tolstoy presents his scene in a rather different light but the resemblance is evident:

"Papa entered the room with swift, short steps, and went up to Liubotchka, who stopped playing when she saw him.

'No, go on playing, Liuba, go on', said he, putting her back in her seat; 'you know how I love to hear you.'

Liubotchka continued her playing, and papa sat opposite her for a long time, supporting his head on his hand; then he gave his shoulders a sudden twist, rose, and began to pace the room. Every time that he approached the piano, he paused, and looked intently at Liubotchka. I perceived, from his movements and his manner of walking, that he was excited. After traversing the hall several times, he paused behind Liubotchka's seat, kissed her black hair, and then, turning away, he pursued his walk. When Liubotchka had finished her piece, and went up to him with the question, 'Is it pretty?' he took her head silently in his hands, and began to kiss her brow and eyes with such tenderness as I had never seen him display." 21

19. Childhood, p. 82 - 83.

20. David Copperfield, vol. I, p. 229.

21. Boyhood, p. 187.

There is something Dickensian in Tolstoy's descriptions of scenes and places seen again after a long interval. Like Dickens, Tolstoy enjoys picturing such recollections. The presentations are very similar, which indicates Tolstoy's indebtedness to his great English model also in this respect.

In David Copperfield we can find a few such masterly scenes where the author throws light on David's remembrances and emotions upon seeing familiar spots after a long absence. One of these scenes is David's return to Mr. Peggotty's cabin in which he has spent many a happy moment in his early childhood. Everything there looks so familiar to him and yet so different and simple. ²² Another such beautiful and melancholy moment is the scene of David's return to his native village. He views with sadness the local cemetery where his father, mother, and baby brother are buried, and ²³ pensively contemplates his old home.

The recollections of young Nikolyenka Irteneff upon his return from the school in Moscow to his old country house, the place of his happy childhood, and their description are much the same as those presented by Dickens. ²⁴

Of other incidents in the presentation of which Tolstoy was influenced by Dickens the description of a thunderstorm and the carouse scene may be mentioned.

22. David Copperfield, vol. I, see p. 143.

23. Ibid., vol. I, see p. 325.

24. Youth, see p. 303 - 304.

However, in neither of these events does Tolstoy surpass the poetical skill of Dickens. His pictures are full of charm and vividness but they lack Dickens' force of imagination and art of description.

Dickens' Chapter LV, Tempest, in the second volume of David Copperfield is a very powerful chapter, perhaps the greatest in the book. After once reading this chapter the reader is bound to remember and appreciate it for a long time.

Tolstoy also devotes a special chapter to the description of a thunderstorm.²⁵ It is possible that seeing Dickens treat the subject in a separate chapter he decided to do likewise. His picture, unlike that of Dickens, has more to do with the presentation of country side during a sudden storm in summertime, and has nothing to do with the sea. Of course, the event is described by the hero of Boyhood, Nikolyenka Irteneff.

Another incident where Tolstoy's indebtedness to Dickens can be clearly seen is the picture of Nikolyenka's first carouse. Young Irteneff, then already student at Moscow University, is invited by his fellow students to a party arranged in his friend's home. On this occasion Nikolyenka does not fail to get completely drunk, as his friends do.²⁶

This scene bears a close resemblance to David's party. It is David's first drinking-party, and during it he and his

25. Boyhood, see Chapter II, The Thunder-Storm.

26. Youth, see p. 349 - 353.

27

friends misbehave. Like Dickens again, Tolstoy devotes a separate chapter to this episode.

Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth, the earliest works of Tolstoy, show the most numerous and the most evident traces of Dickens' influence. This influence is present in his other works of this period, but it is much harder to define.

In his story, A Russian Proprietor, Tolstoy adapts for his use some of Dickens' caricature-characters. During his visit to his village-serfs, the hero of the story, Nekhliudoff, meets a peasant who roughly answers to the characteristics of the "fat boy" in Pickwick Papers, whose only purpose in life is to sleep and to eat. Nekhliudoff finds him in the following situation:

" At the present moment, notwithstanding the heat of the June day, Davuidka, with his head covered by his sheep-skin, was fast asleep, curled up on one corner of the oven. The panic-stricken hen, skipping up on the oven, and growing more and more agitated, took up her position on Davuidka's back, but did not awaken him.

Nekhliudoff, seeing no one in the hovel, was about to go, when a prolonged humid sigh betrayed the sleeper.

'Ei ! who's there ?' cried the prince.

A second prolonged sigh was heard from the oven.

'Who's there ? Come here !'

Still another sigh, a sort of a bellow, and a heavy yawn responded to the prince's call." 28

Another personage in this story is endowed with the characteristics of Mr. Barkis - the miser. Nekhliudoff visits another of his serfs and this one is reputed to be rich, but he is a miser and does not want to admit it, like

27. David Copperfield, vol. I, see p. 366 - 68.

28. A Russian Proprietor, p. 33 - 34.

29. David Copperfield, vol. II, see p. 8.

Mr. Barkis, who dies with his arms on the box containing his money, assuring everyone that there is nothing but old clothes in it.

Disappointed because of his failure to improve the life of his peasants, Nekhliudoff escapes from reality into a romantic dream-world of the future:

"I and my wife, whom I shall love as no one ever loved a wife before in the world, we shall always live amid this restful, poetical, rural nature, with our children, maybe, and with my old aunt. We have our love for each other, our love for our children; and we shall both know that our aim is the right....I shall carry on the farm, the savings-bank, the workshop. And she, with her dear little head, and dressed in a simple white dress, which she lifts above her dainty ankle as she steps through the mud, will go to the peasants' school, to the hospital, to some unfortunate peasant who in truth does not deserve help, and everywhere carry comfort and aid."³⁰ 31

The above passage bears the traces of Dickensian influence. As Stendhal's Julien Sorel influenced Tolstoy concerning adolescent dreams of fame, military glory, and power, so David Copperfield's romantic dreams about a happy married life with Dora Spenlow contribute to the passages in A Russian Proprietor. In his imagination David builds a very similar image of married life to that of Nekhliudoff, but unfortunately, after his marriage his life goes another way.

Closely connected with the above dreams is David's excitement and impatience on the eve of his wedding. He cannot believe himself to be so happy and absolutely cannot

30. David Copperfield, vol. II, see p. 8.

31. A Russian Proprietor, p. p. 58.

imagine himself as a married man. Throughout all the time
 of waiting and the ceremony he lives as in a dream.
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Tolstoy presents similar moments in his novel Family Happiness. It is Marya Alexandrovna who is getting married and her experiences are almost the same:

" 'Can it be to-day ?' I asked myself not daring to believe in my happiness. 'Can it be that I shall wake up to-morrow not here, but in that strange house at Nikolskoye, with its columns ? Is it possible that I shall no longer have to wait for his coming, no more be going out to meet him, talk no longer about him with Katya ?' " 33

Also there exists a vague similarity between the character of a soldier in Wood-Cutting Expedition and Dickens' famous personage in Pickwick Papers, Mr. Pickwick's personal valet, Sam Weller. Of course, one cannot say decidedly that Tolstoy was indebted to Dickens for this creation.

Sam Weller, as Dickens presents him, is a hard-working, honest servant, devoted to his master, but to other people and especially to the reader, he seems to be something of a buffoon. Perhaps it is his behaviour which makes him find a funny side in every situation.

Tolstoy's Chikin is much of the same kind:

" The third soldier, with ear-rings in his ears, with bristling mustaches, goose-flesh, and a porcelain pipe between his teeth, crouching on his heels in front of the bonfire, was artillery-rider Chikin. The dear man Chikin, as the soldiers called him, was a buffoon. In bitter cold, up to his knees in the mud, going without food two days at a time, on the march, on parade, undergoing instruction, the dear man always and everywhere screwed his face into grimaces, executed flourishes with his legs, and poured out

32. David Copperfield, vol. II, see p. 196 - 201.

33. Family Happiness, p. 274.

such a flood of nonsense that the whole platoon would go into fits of laughter." 34

In conclusion, one can add that the whole arrangement of material and the development from chapter to chapter in Tolstoy's novels Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth also show that in the execution of his work Tolstoy took Dickens' David Copperfield as his model. Both Dickens' David Copperfield and Tolstoy's autobiographical novels have in themselves great charm, an undeniable attraction for their readers. After reading these works we become intimately acquainted with the characters in them; we experience their feelings; we live with them and are sad when we near the end of the works. These feelings were well known to Tolstoy's wife, who wrote in her autobiography:

"Tolstoy's Childhood and Dickens' David Copperfield made the greatest impression on me. When I finished reading Copperfield, I cried because I was sorry to part with the people who had become so dear to me." 35

34. Tolstoï, Complete Works, vol. XII, Wood-Cutting Expedition, p. 42.

35. Polner, Tikhon, Tolstoy and his Wife, W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York, 1945, p. 38.

CHAPTER VI

STERNE

Laurence Sterne is another master to whom Tolstoy is indebted in his early works. As a young man of twenty-one he read Sterne's Sentimental Journey and under its influence he planned a novel of gypsy life which was to describe the chance people that fell under his observation, and he actually began writing it.¹ Later on he translated a part of Sentimental Journey and in his diary he wrote warm appreciations of Sterne.² Sterne's lively but refined humor, brilliant wit, love of humanity, and acute sensibilities,³ as well as his various tricks of style, attracted Tolstoy.³

The influence of Sterne on Tolstoy was exercised both directly and indirectly. The direct influence expressed itself in all those aspects in Sterne which most appealed to Tolstoy, his style, sensitiveness, unconventionality, impressionism, and his treatment of trivial things. Indirectly the influence of Rousseau and Goethe in some aspects, especially in respect to sentimentalism, was reinforced by that of Sterne.

Tolstoy's indebtedness to Sterne is most clearly marked in his first work Childhood but its traces are also visible in his succeeding works. In the construction of Childhood, in its loose array of scenes and descriptions there is something of Sterne and it may be said that Child-

1. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 40.
2. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 89.
3. Ibid., p. 90.
4. Ibid., p. 90.

hood is a Sentimental Journey into childhood. One can observe, however, in the several drafts the care with which Tolstoy tried to eliminate obvious traces of Sterne's influence on Childhood.⁶

Sterne was one of the most unconventional of authors. He discarded all rules of composition and tried to free himself completely of all the conventions imposed on the writer. In contemporary literature he introduced a new way of writing which was gladly accepted and employed by many later writers. He started to write comparatively late in life when he was forty-five years of age and his works indicate his maturity and mastery as an author.⁷

Sentimental Journey is a succession of portraits and scenes.⁸ But it is characteristic that in presenting his portraits and scenes Sterne's eyes were so adjusted that small things often bulked larger in them than big ones.⁹ Therefore very often his scenes consist mainly of trifles, but while using this technique he manages to present the life as closely as we can see it.¹⁰ According to Sterne, by giving pictures of trivial and unimportant things one can create a detailed image of life. In addition, instead of describing his scenes for their own sake, he portrays first of all the sensations which he experiences when looking on

5. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 64.
6. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 90.
7. Woolf, Virginia, The Common Reader, Published by Leonard & V. Woolf, London, 1932, vol. 2, p. 78.
8. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 82.
9. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 80.
10. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 79.

what he sees.

In Sentimental Journey we are never allowed to forget that Sterne is above all things sensitive, sympathetic, humane; that above all things he prizes the decencies, the simplicities of the human heart.¹¹ Indeed, Sterne introduces into his works a sentimentality which is often excessive. Refined humor, pathos, and ingenious tricks of style are thus Sterne's particular contribution to literature. In the early works of Tolstoy almost all these aspects of Sterne found a place.

Any unimportant incident could put Sterne into a sentimental mood which not seldom ended with tears. His Yorick in Sentimental Journey is made to cry when visiting a poor French shepherdess:

" I look'd in Maria's eyes, and saw she was thinking more of her father than of her lover or her little goat; for as she utter'd them, the tears trickled down her cheeks.

I sat down close by her; and Maria let me wipe them away as they fell, with my handkerchief. - I then steep'd it in my own - and then in her's - and then in mine - and then I wip'd her's again - and as I did it, I felt such indescribable emotions within me, as I am sure could not be accounted for from any combinations of matter and motion."¹²

This excessive sentimentality, typical of Sterne, appears often in Tolstoy's Childhood. As early as the first chapter little Nikolyenka Irteneff shows himself in a maudlin mood when viewing his old German tutor:

" I was vexed at myself and at Karl Ivanitch; I wanted

11. Woolf, The Common Reader, vol. 2, p. 83.

12. The Works of Laurence Sterne, The Jenson Society, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1906, vol. five, A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, p. 382.

to laugh and to cry; my nerves were upset.

'O let me alone, Karl Ivanitch !' I cried, with tears in my eyes, thrusting my head out from beneath the pillows. Karl Ivanitch was surprised; he left my soles in peace, and began anxiously to inquire what was the matter with me: had I had a bad dream ? His kind German face, the sympathy with which he strove to divine the cause of my tears, caused them to flow more abundantly. I was ashamed: and I could not understand how, a moment before, I had been unable to love Karl Ivanitch, and thought his dressing-gown, cap, and tassel disgusting; now, on the contrary, they all seemed to me extremely pleasing, and even the tassel appeared a plain proof of his goodness." 13

This sentimentality extends to other of Tolstoy's works of this period. A good example of it is to be found in the novel The Cossacks. Olyenin walking through a Caucasian forest experiences a curious feeling:

" And suddenly there came over him such a strange feeling of unreasonable joy and love toward everything that he began to cross himself and offer thanks, just as he used to do when he was a child. Suddenly this thought came into his mind with extraordinary clearness : -

'Here I, Dmitri Olyenin, an entity distinct from all others, am lying all alone, God knows where, in the very place where lives a stag, an old stag, a handsome fellow, which has perhaps never even seen a man, and in a place, likewise, where no human being has ever been before, or thought of being. Here I sit and on all sides stand young and old trees, and one of them is twined about by the tendrils of the wild grape; around me swarm pheasants, chasing one another, and perhaps they scent their dead companions.'" 14

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Sterne was extremely impressionistic author. His Sentimental Journey is one continuous chain of impressions. Sometimes, because of this, he is hard to understand since his thoughts jump from one idea to another. Tolstoy's impressionism is of a different kind. He expresses his thoughts

13. Childhood, p. 2.

14. The Cossacks, p. 103.

in short unconnected sentences but they form a whole and present a definite picture. However, for this very impressionism he is indebted to Sterne. A beautiful example of it we find in the chapter on his reflections on childhood in his novel of the same name. Here is a short passage from this chapter:

" - You have run your fill. You sit at the tea-table, in your high chair; you have drunk your cup of milk and sugar long ago; sleep is gluing your eyes together, but you do not stir from the spot, you sit and listen. And how can you help listening ? Mamma is talking with some one, and the sound of her voice is so sweet, so courteous. That sound alone says so much to my heart ! With eyes dimmed with slumber, I gaze upon her face, and all at once she has become small, so small - her face is no larger than a button, but I see it just as plainly still. I see her look at me and smile. I like to see her so small. I draw my eyelids still closer together, and she is no larger than the little boys one sees in the pupils of the eyes; but I moved, and the illusion was destroyed. I close my eyes, twist about, and try in every way to reproduce it, but in vain." 15

Very closely connected with Sterne's impressionism is his fondness for details which have seldom anything to do with the matter which he is treating. Thus, starting from one point, instead of following a steady line and sticking to the subject, various trifles attract his attention which are completely irrelevant to the main idea. Indeed, his digressions from the subject are so frequent that we can hardly find a chapter without them. Yorick meeting a French monk in Calais, for example, starts to describe his head and his mind wanders far from his point

15. Childhood, p. 50.

of departure:

" It was one of those heads which Guido has often painted - mild, pale - penetrating, free from all commonplace ideas of fat contented ignorance looking downwards upon the earth - it look'd forwards; but look'd, as if it look'd at something beyond this world. How one of his order came by it, heaven above, who let it fall upon monk's shoulders, best knows; but it would have suited a Bramin, and had I met it upon the plains of Indostan, I had reverenced it." 16

In much the same way, describing the funeral service of his mother Irteneff, instead of seriously treating the subject, goes into details which have nothing to do with the funeral:

" During the service I cried in proper fashion, crossed myself, and made reverences to the earth; but I did not pray in spirit, and was tolerably cold-blooded. I was worrying because my new half-coat, which they had put on me, hurt me very much under the arms. I meditated how not to spot the knees of my trousers too much; and I took observations, on the sly, of all those who were present. My father stood at the head of the coffin. He was as white as his handkerchief, and restrained his tears with evident difficulty. His tall figure in its black coat, his pale, expressive face, his movements, graceful and assured as ever, when he crossed himself, bowed, touching the ground with his hand, took the candle from the hand of the priest, or approached the coffin, were extremely effective." 17

A still better example of this interest in irrelevant trifles is visible in Tolstoy's story Polikushka. The lady of the manor and her overseer are talking about business:

" She heard only sounds, and she looked at the nankeen buttons on the overseer's coat; the upper button it seemed he rarely fastened, so that it was on tight; but

16. Sentimental Journey, p. 13.

17. Childhood, p. 101.

the strain had come on the middle one, and it hung by a thread, so that it would soon need to be sewed on again." 18

Her overseer, on the other hand, was occupied with something else:

" 'Well, she's in for it', thought Yegor Mikhailovitch, and began to gaze at the jam which stood in a glass of water by her side. 'Is it orange, or lemon ? I think it must taste bitter', he said to himself." 19

Tolstoy was also influenced by Sterne's generous heart and by his fine sense of humour. In another book, Tristram Shandy, Sterne presents with great feeling an incident in which Tristram's uncle, Toby, instead of killing chases away an obtrusive fly which bothers him. 20

A very similar scene is described in The Cossacks. It is the old man Yeroshka who has a kind heart:

" Yeroshka, suddenly rousing, raised his head and began attentively to look at the night-moths, which were attracted by the flickering candle-flame and falling into it.

'Little fool ! Fool !' he muttered. 'Where did you fly from ?'

He got up, and, with his huge fingers, began to drive away the moths. 'You will burn yourself, you little fool; here, fly this way, there's room enough', he said, in his affectionate voice, trying to lift one tenderly by the wings in his clumsy fingers, and to let it go. 'You are ruining yourself, and I am sorry for you.' " 21

Although Tolstoy was not one of those writers who, like Sterne, may be called humorists, he did nevertheless, under the influence of the latter, like to add a touch of humour from time to time. He pictures a ridiculous situation in Childhood. On her birthday Irtereff's grandmother when

18. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XII, Polikushka, p. 148.

19. Ibid., p. 149.

20. The Works of Laurence Sterne, vol. one, The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, see p. 185 -86.

21. The Cossacks, p. 78.

receiving congratulations and presents is handed in a little box as a gift from the boys' tutor. However, she is so perplexed where to put the box that the idea suggest itself to pass it to her son-in-law. The latter, in his turn, does not know what to do with it himself so he passes it to the present clergyman and so the box

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wanders from hand to hand.

Finally Tolstoy imitates some of Sterne's tricks of style. The latter's Sentimental Journey is characterized by very short chapters, some of them containing only a few sentences, by an enormous number of dashes, by asterisks, points, italics, and other variations. He is still more unorthodox in ^hTristram Shandy; however, there is no proof that Tolstoy read this book; therefore it cannot be taken into consideration.

Imitating Sterne, Tolstoy makes his chapters short. In Boyhood Chapters XII, XIII, XIV, XVII, XXI, and XXIV are not much longer than Sterne's chapters. His other tricks of style he imitates in moderation and thus a page from his work does not by any means resemble one by Sterne.

To conclude, it must be remembered that there are many passages in Tolstoy's early works, especially those dealing with the presentation of feelings or of nature, in which the influence of Rousseau or of Goethe was re-

22. Childhood, see p. 57.

inforced by that of Sterne.

On the whole, Sterne is relatively important as one of Tolstoy's models. All those aspects in which Tolstoy was influenced by him, his sentimentality, his impressionism with his fondness for trivialities, and his unconventionality of style appear quite often in Tolstoy's works of the early period, especially in his first novels. Taken together the direct and the indirect influence of Sterne contributed much to the development of Tolstoy's genius as writer.

CHAPTER VII

THACKERAY



William Makepeace Thackeray occupies an important place among the influences on Tolstoy's early works. In 1855 and 1856 Tolstoy eagerly read Thackeray and greatly admired his works.¹ At this time Tolstoy was occupied in writing his Sebastopol Sketches and in its leisur^ely, panoramic method of narration, in the manner in which plot is sacrificed to the accumulation of detail, and in the studied objectivity, one can detect the certain influence of Thackeray.² Tolstoy was especially attracted by Thackeray's treatment of human vanity so brilliantly presented in the latter's masterpiece Vanity Fair. Also, like Dickens, Thackeray was a source from which Tolstoy drew ideas for the creation of his characters.

Spiritually Tolstoy and Thackeray were closely related. They both fought against human vanity and artificiality and they had allied ideas about capital punishment. On his return to Paris in 1858 Tolstoy saw a man put to death by the guillotine. It made a lasting impression on him. He wrote in his diary under date of April 18, 1858:

" I rose before seven and went to see an execution. A stout, healthy neck and breast. The man kissed the Gospel, and then - death. How senseless ! It made a deep impression which will not be wasted. I am not a man of politics. Morals and art I know and love - they are within my powers. The guillotine kept me long from sleeping and made me reflect." ³

1. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 131.

3. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 116 - 17.

In the same way Thackeray, who in 1840 witnessed the execution of Courvoisier, the murderer of Lord William Russel, wrote of his revolt against murder, whether performed by a ruffian's knife or a hangman's rope, whether accompanied by a curse from the thief as he blows his victim's brains out or by a prayer from my lord on the bench in his wig and black cap.⁴

To the topic of human vanity Tolstoy devoted much space in his Sevastopol Sketches. Writing a story in which the hero was Truth itself he could not omit such an important problem as vanity, which actuates human beings even at the hour of their death. He bursts out with indignation against this vice:

"Vanity! vanity! and vanity everywhere, even on the brink of the grave, and among men ready to die for the highest convictions, vanity! It must be that it is a characteristic trait, and a peculiar malady of our century. Why was nothing ever heard among the men of former days, of this passion, any more than of the small-pox or the cholera? Why, in our age, are there but three sorts of people: those who accept the principle of vanity as a fact whose existence is inevitable, and, therefore, just; those who accept it as an unfortunate but invincible condition; and those who, unconsciously, act with slavish subservience under its influence? Why did Homer and Shakespeare talk of love, of glory, of suffering, while the literature of our age is nothing but an endless narrative of snobs and vanity?"⁵

The influence of cynical Thackeray is clearly visible in the above sentences. He viewed human nature from a similar point. His unfortunate George Osborne is

4. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 117.
 5. Sevastopol in May, p. 228 - 29.

one of the men described in the above passage. Here is how Thackeray finds George and those similar to him on the eve of the great battle:

" Our friend George was in the full career of the pleasures of Vanity Fair.⁶

There never was, since the days Darius, such a brilliant train of camp-followers as hung round the Duke of Wellington's army in the Low Countries in 1815, and led it, dancing and feasting as it were, up to the very brink of battle."⁷ 6

It is true, Thackeray looks somewhat condescendingly on human follies. He is even fain to excuse his characters for being vain, as his famous ending of Vanity Fair indicates.⁷

Tolstoy lacks Thackeray's cynical approach to this subject. He wants to combat human vanity not through satire, as Thackeray does, but by means of straightforward criticism. He makes himself heard in Sevastopol Sketches and the works themselves are widely read by the public.

Tolstoy's main purpose in the Sevastopol Sketches was to show the truth about war and to contrast the heroism and selfsacrifice of common soldiers with the vain endeavours of worthless higher officers. While the soldiers live for months in dirt and mud and finally die, their superiors think only about pleasure, military fame, distinction , and promotion. Tolstoy cannot look indifferently on injustice and sufferings on one side and

6. Thackeray, W., M., Vanity Fair, Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, 1899, p. 315.

7. See Ibid., p. 784.

on pride, incompetence, and vain desires on the other.

In Vanity Fair Thackeray presents either individuals, or whole classes of society in their empty pursuits in this life. People always imagine that they are better than others and try to treat their fellow men accordingly. The ladies of Lord Steyne's company consider Rebecca Crawley as something inferior and simply refuse to speak to her during a party. ⁸ The petty German princes of the Rhine principalities, although extremely poor and insignificant, give themselves airs of importance and power. ⁹

Tolstoy's officers in Sevastopol Sketches are of the same kind. Even at the front they strive to show their superiority and look for every opportunity to humiliate their inferiors. Here is how the staff officers usually behave:

" At this moment an officer of infantry entered the room.

'I....I was ordered....may I present myself to the gen....to his excellency from General N. ?' he inquired, bowing with an air of embarrassment.

Kalugin rose, but, without returning the officer's salute, he asked him, with insulting courtesy and strained official smile, whether 'they' would not wait awhile; and, without inviting him to be seated or paying any further attention to him, he turned to Prince Galtzin and began to speak to him in French, so that the unhappy officer, who remained standing in the middle of the room, absolutely did not know what to do with himself." ¹⁰

And yet these same officers are human, and behave decently when they are in their own circle. They only put

8. Vanity Fair, see p. 553.

9. See Ibid., p. 709.

10. Sevastopol in May, p. 236.

an air of artificiality in presence of people not belonging to their class, just like the ladies of Lord Steyne's acquaintance:

" But it is worthy of note that not only Prince Galtzin, but all the gentlemen who had placed themselves here, one at the window, another with his legs coiled up under him, a third at the piano, seemed totally different persons from what they had been when on the boulevard; there was nothing of that absurd arrogance and haughtiness which they had exhibited in public to the infantry officers; here they were among their own set, and natural, especially Kalugin and Prince Galtzin, and were very good, amiable, and merry fellows." ¹¹

Adjutant Kalugin is a very good example of human vanity. Whatever he does it is with one end - to show off. His desire to create the best impression of himself does not leave him even in moments of danger. Kalugin is actuated by vanity, by a desire to shine, by the hope of reward, ¹² of reputation, and by the charm of risk. He resembles George Osborne in his plans to perform some deed of distinction during the war in order to be mentioned in the papers and thus to become reconciled with his father.

In Vanity Fair Thackeray presents a few typically vain characters, seen in different situations and on different occasions, whom Tolstoy adapts in his Sevastopol Sketches. The most important character in this respect is Joseph Sedley or Jos, the fat, cumbersome, lazy, cowardly, stupid, and extremely vain official in the Indian service. Jos has a very high opinion of himself but everybody else

11. Sevastopol in May, p. 235.

12. See Ibid., p. 248.

knows his true value. His history, especially during the Waterloo period, influenced Tolstoy's presentation of his Sevastopol defenders.

Jos, a civilian, goes over the Channel to Brussels together with the English troops to fight Napoleon's forces in the Spring of 1815. He is full of enthusiasm and although he does not belong to the army he struts about in a military ¹³ frock-coat, Hessian top boots, and spurs. With great assiduity he follows the parades and drills and listens with the utmost attention to the conversation of his brother ¹⁴ officers. Joseph's courage is prodigious. He cries:

"Boney attack us! My dear creature, my poor Emmy, don't be frightened. There's no danger. The Allies will be in Paris in two months, I tell you." ¹⁵

Tolstoy's version of Joseph Sedley, with an admixture of other characters, is Captain Mikhailoff. Like Jos, he was awkwardly built, not quite graceful, and seemed to be ¹⁶ constrained in his movements. He liked to parade in trousers with straps, and brilliantly polished calf-skin ¹⁷ boots. In hope of advancement he had transferred from the cavalry to the infantry for the period of the campaign.

Like George Osborne and many other of Thackeray's officers, Mikhailoff forms happy plans for fame and pro-

13. Vanity Fair, see p. 234.

14. See Ibid., p. 297.

15. Ibid., p. 299.

16. Sevastopol in May, see p. 224.

17. See Ibid., p. 224.

motion. Although he is an adult person he still dreams and plans in the same way as Stendhal's adolescent, Julien Sorel:

" And what will be the joy and amazement of Natasha when she suddenly reads in the 'Invalid' a description of how I was the first to climb upon the cannon, and that I have received the George (medal)! I shall certainly be promoted to a full capitancy, by virtue of that old recommendation. Then I may very easily get the grade of major in the line, this very year, because many of our fellows have already been killed, and many more will be in this campaign. And after that there will be more affairs on hand, and a regiment will be intrusted to me, since I am an experienced man lieutenant-colonel the Order of St. Anna on my neck colonel !" 18

In spite of his bright hopes for pleasure and distinction in Brussels Jos Sedley is greatly frightened by the first 19 cannon shots during the beginning of the Battle of Waterloo.

He gets ready to flee from Brussels and he wants to take 20 his sister with him. His fear is increased by the arrival of a Belgian hussar who swears that the Allied armies are cut to pieces and that he is one of the few who managed to 21 escape from death. Carts with wounded soldiers begin to roll into the city and Jos looks with painful curiosity at 22 their haggard faces, disfigured with pain and groans.

A much louder roar of cannon is heard and cowardice gets the better of Jos. He flees from Brussels leaving behind 23 his sister whom he has promised to protect.

18. Sebastopol in May, p. 226.

19. Vanity Fair, see p. 343.

20. See Ibid., p. 346.

21. See Ibid., p. 346 - 48.

22. See Ibid., p. 354.

23. See Ibid., p. 359 - 360.

Captain Mikhaïloff is not quite such a coward as Jos. He is actuated by mixed feelings of fear and vanity during his first moments in the front lines. He thinks:

" It is certainly foreordained that I am to be killed to-night, I feel it. And the principal point is that I need not have gone, but that I offered myself. And the man who thrusts himself forward is always killed. And what's the matter with that accursed Nepshisetsky ? It is quite possible that he is not sick at all; and they will kill another man for his sake, they will infallibly kill him. However, if they don't kill me, I shall be promoted probably.... If I don't turn out a major, then I shall certainly get the Vladimir Cross." ²⁴

But what a relief it is for Captain Mikhaïloff when instead of getting killed, after three hours under fire, he is recalled with his unit from the lines. Like Jos in Brussels, he considered during those three hours that his end was inevitable and, after receiving the order to withdraw,

" he had great difficulty in keeping his feet from running away with him when he issued from the lodgements at the head of his corps, in company with Praskukhin." ²⁵

Fear overpowered Jos Sedley only for a short time. Out of the danger, his vanity again takes possession of him. Upon his return to India he never ceases to talk about Napoleon, about the Battle of Waterloo, and about his own prowess in it, so that the people of his acquaintance begin to call him "Waterloo Sedley". His vanity reaches

24. Sevastopol in May, p. 232.

25. Ibid., p. 250.

26. Vanity Fair, see p. 429.

even such an absurd stage that he boasts that

" Napoleon never would have gone to St. Helena at all but for him, Jos Sedley." 27

Among Tolstoy's officers those who have participated longer in battle never boast of their military prowess. On the contrary, it is men like Jos who never saw battle or saw very little of it who brag about their bravery.

The Adjutant Kalugin, who does not know very much about military affairs at the front tries to boast of his knowledge, like Jos about the Battle of Waterloo, to Prince Galtzin, who knows still less about these things. He is not a specialist but he considers his judgment on military matters to be particularly accurate, although he uses the wrong technical terms in his explanation of the position
28
of the troops.

Prince Galtzin, a novice in the matter of war, behaves exactly like Jos Sedley in Brussels. After the first shots at Waterloo Jos goes out into the street mixing with the
29
excited population. And at the moment when a frightful crash of rifles was heard above the roar of the cannon at Sevastopol

" Prince Galtzin, under the influence of that oppressive emotion which the signs of a battle near at hand produce on a spectator who takes no part in it, went out into the street, and began to pace up and down there without any object." 30

27. Vanity Fair, p. 650.

28. Sevastopol in May, see p. 237.

29. Vanity Fair, see p. 344.

30. Sevastopol in May, p. 239.

The Belgian hussar who fled from the field of action after the first encounter and repulse by the French, exaggerated greatly, saying that all the forces had been smashed to pieces and that only a few people survived the ³¹ onslaught of the French. Tolstoy noticed the same thing:

"A soldier who has been wounded in an engagement always thinks that the day has been lost, and that the encounter has been a frightfully bloody one." ³²

In the sketch Sevastopol in December Tolstoy gives a picture of an officer of Jos Sedley type who, over a bottle of wine, brags about his valour:

"The former has already drunk a good deal, and it is evident, from the breaks in his narrative, from his undecided glance expressive of altogether too prominent a part which he has played in it all, and from excessive horror of it all, that he is widely departing from a strict statement of the truth." ³³

In Vanity Fair, George Osborne and his wife, Amelia, who are only children of merchants, are ignored in Brussels by the members of English noble families. Finally George manages to become acquainted with Lord Bare-³⁴ acres' family and invites them to a splendid dinner. His vanity seems to be greatly flattered, but his joy is only of a short duration, for Lady Bareacres and her daughter, although they condescendingly allow George to pay handsomely for their dinner, exclude his wife completely from the conversation and make her uncomfortable,

31. Vanity Fair, see p. 346 - 48.

32. Sevastopol in May, p. 242.

33. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XI, Sevastopol in December, p. 214.

34. Vanity Fair, see p. 304.

and are determined to ignore their new acquaintances when
 35
 in London.

Tolstoy probably had George Osborne in mind when he wrote the following passage of the Sevastopol Sketches. Captain Mikhailoff's vanity drives him to join the company of higher officers whom he calls "aristocrats", but at the same time he is afraid to approach them:

"What if they should, all at once, refuse to recognize me, or, having bowed to me, what if they continue their conversation among themselves, as though I did not exist, or walk away from me entirely, and leave me standing there alone among the 'aristocrats'." 36

Tolstoy agrees with Thackeray's concluding statement in Vanity Fair that our vain desires can be never fulfilled and that having satisfied one desire we immediately substitute another for it. 37 This idea is expressed, in a military context, as follows:

"To Captain Obzhogoff, Staff-Captain Mikhailoff was an 'aristocrat'. To Staff-Captain Mikhailoff, Adjutant Kalugin was an 'aristocrat', because he was an adjutant, and was on such a footing with the other adjutants as to call them 'thou'. To Adjutant Kalugin, Count Nordoff was an 'aristocrat', because he was an adjutant on the emperor's staff." 38

Thackeray's theme of vanity and the descriptions of characters from Vanity Fair recur in other of Tolstoy's works pertaining to military life, such as the story An Old Acquaintance. In it Tolstoy describes a meeting, during a

35. Vanity Fair, see p. 304.

36. Sevastopol in May, p. 228.

37. Vanity Fair, see p. 784.

38. Sevastopol in May, p. 228.

military expedition in the Caucasus, between an officer and a Moscow acquaintance of his who has been sent out as a common soldier for some insubordination.

Guskof, the unfortunate soldier, complains to the officer of his hard life in the regiment to which he, being of noble birth, cannot get used. He manages to gain the officer's confidence to such an extent that the latter even lends him some money. But the first impressions which Guskof makes on the officer are not true. Later on the officer learns the real character of Guskof, who is but a snob, coward, and ingrate.

Guskof pretends to be like Thackeray's Captain Dobbin to whom the military life with everyday monotony, stupid and coarse jokes, senseless parades and drills, card games, and drunken bouts is insufferably dull and wearisome.³⁹ He complains to the officer that

"you might live ten years, and not see anything, and not hear about anything, except cards, wine, and gossip about rewards and campaigns."⁴⁰

In reality Guskof is not the intellectual he lets on to be, but a gambler, drunkard, boaster, and liar of the very type he criticized. When a single cannon-ball exploded near the spot where the officer and Guskof were conversing the latter acted like another Jos Sedley:

"He crouched cowering close to the ground, and

39. Vanity Fair, see p. 490.

40. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XII, An Old Acquaintance, p. 102.

stammered, trying to say something, 'Th - That's th - the enemy's f - f - fire th - that's hidi....'" ⁴¹

And in vain did the officer look for his partner to finish the conversation - the latter disappeared in-
⁴²stantaneously. When, later on, the officer happened to pass by the tent in which Guskof lived, he heard him bragging in a loud voice about his importance and drink-
⁴³ing wine which he had bought with borrowed money.

Another of Tolstoy's tales of military life, Two Hussars, also shows some influence of Thackeray. In Two Hussars Tolstoy describes life in the early decades of the XIX-th Century, the period that is dealt with in Vanity Fair. The tale presents a contrast between the characters of two generations: the father and the son.

Thackeray's influence is evident in the introduction to the tale and in the manner in which the family relationship is used to join both parts, a method Tolstoy employed later in War and Peace. In Vanity Fair the elder Sedley helps the elder Osborne to get into business. Later on, due to this nearness of the two families, the younger Osborne feels obliged to marry Sedley's daughter. The two families are similarly connected in Two Hussars. The older Count makes acquaintance with a widow at a ball and a score of years later his son happens to billet as

41. An Old Acquaintance, p. 106.

42. See Ibid., p. 106.

43. See Ibid., p. 108.

44. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 132.

an officer in the widow's house and makes love to her daughter.

In the characters of the older Count and of his son there are elements common to Thackeray's men. Count Turbin represents more or less George Osborne's character but, unlike George, he is devoid of selfishness and vanity.

Like George he is a Don Juan or, as Rebecca calls him, a "Cupid".⁴⁵ He likes to drink, to dance, to play cards, to throw his money left and right, but towards women he is gallant, and toward other people, generous. He wins money back from professional gamblers and restores it to its owner, an inexperienced young player.⁴⁶ To a gypsie's band he recklessly throws bundles of bank-notes.⁴⁷ Whenever he has money, he spends it, and when he has not any, he borrows.

His son is already another man. In his character he rather resembles Thackeray's old Sir Pitt Crawley. The young Turbin is cool, calculating, and a miser. In the widow Anna Feodorovna's house, he plays cards for money. He is an experienced player and wins a small amount from her and he indifferently requires her to pay it.⁴⁸ The old widow cannot find in him his father's gallantry. Cynically he lets Anna Feodorovna go into expenses preparing meals, drinks, and sleeping accomodation for him

45. Vanity Fair, see p. 269.

46. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, Two Hussars, see p. 187.

47. See Ibid., p. 188.

48. See Ibid., p. 213.

49

and for his fellow officer. The young Count would also seduce Anna Feodorovna's daughter without his conscience bothering him. He even makes a try but he fails.

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When writing under the influence of Dickens, Tolstoy uses scenic method in presentation of the plot. This can be observed in Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth where the story is told in the first person. In Sevastopol Sketches and in Two Hussars he adapts Thackeray's panoramic method of narration so well developed in Vanity Fair. It is no more Nikolyenka Irteneff who tells the story, very subjectively it is Tolstoy - the author looking from a point of vantage on what is happening at Sevastopol and how the two Counts compare.

If we sum up the influence of Thackeray on Tolstoy we shall see that although it is important it is also limited to certain aspects and topics. To Thackeray Tolstoy is indebted for the portrayal of vanity in human character, for some traits of the male characters, and, to some extent, for the panoramic method of narration. The sphere where this influence is most visible are the stories of military life. In importance as a whole Thackeray's influence vies with that of Sterne.

49. Two Hussars, see p. 208.

50. See Ibid., p. 222.

CHAPTER VIII

AUERBACH

Tolstoy's command of the German language was almost as good as his command of French. From his earliest childhood he was given a German tutor, Feodor Ivanitch Rössel, under whose guidance he learned German. Rössel is described in Childhood and Boyhood as the Irteneff boys' tutor, Karl ¹ Ivanitch Bauer. As a boy at the University of Kazan Tolstoy ² read Schiller and plunged into the writings of Hegel. When, in 1860, Tolstoy, on an educational tour in Germany, visited a school at Weimar, he spoke perfectly good German and the ³ school principal took him for a German.

The German author who appealed most to Tolstoy during his early period of literary activity was Berthold Auerbach. In him Tolstoy found a kindred spirit whose works were devoted to the description of German peasant life. Auerbach treated those subjects the love of which Tolstoy inherited from his great French teacher - Rousseau.

Usually proud and closed in himself, Tolstoy made the first move in striking up an acquaintance with the German ⁴ novelist. He met Auerbach on April 9, 1861 in Berlin. ⁵ Tolstoy introduced himself, jestingly giving his name as Eugen Baumann, the principal character of one of Auerbach's novels, but he looked so portentous that the novelist was

1. Childhood, see Chapter I.

2. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 56.

3. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 156.

4. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 189.

5. Ibid., p. 189.

6

afraid that he was in for a libel-suit. Tolstoy then assured him that he was Eugen Baumann not in name, but in character.

7

Tolstoy regarded Auerbach as his inspiration for the founding of schools for the peasantry, and he took pleasure in telling him so. In Auerbach's first long novel, Ein
Neues Leben, Count Falkenberg, who had been an army officer,
8 is imprisoned and manages to escape. He buys a school-
master's passport and under the assumed name of Eugen Bau-
mann takes up the task of educating peasant children.

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Four years before he met Auerbach, Tolstoy had read and admired his Schwarzwalder Dorfgeschichten, tales of peasant life in the Black Forest. Auerbach's village tales contrast the simplicity of peasant life with the complexity of life in the cities. The Schwarzwalder Dorf-
geschichten exerted a powerful influence in awakening an interest in the German peasant and since Tolstoy wished to arouse interest in the Russian peasant class, it is evident that the two writers were spiritually closely connected.

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The influence of Auerbach on his early literary career is most visible in those works describing peasant

6. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 142.
7. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 190.
8. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 142.
9. Ibid., p. 142.
10. Ibid., p. 142.
11. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 189 - 190.
12. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 142.
13. Ibid., p. 142.

life, life in the country, farm work, and nature. Of course, the work that exercised this influence was Auerbach's Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten.

Among the early works of Tolstoy there is a story, a little masterpiece, picturing the life of Russian peasant-serfs before the emancipation. It is a tragic tale. The story, entitled Polikushka, displays Tolstoy's great knowledge of human psychology and, at the same time, shows his artistic abilities. It is in Polikushka that the influence of Auerbach can be clearly detected.

The story runs briefly like this : The lady of the manor sends one of her serfs to the next town in order to collect for her a considerable sum of money from a tenant. The serf, Polikushka, is the village horse-doctor and a reputed thief and liar. However, the lady believes that he will reform and in order to prove it she entrusts him with her money that he might show to the village he is not the scoundrel for whom they take him. This time Polikushka decides to reform. But unfortunately on his way back he falls asleep and loses the money entrusted to him. Upon his return home he hangs himself out of despair and his wife learning about his suicide leaves an infant whom she has been washing in a tub and runs to the place of tragedy thus involuntarily causing the infant's death. When after her return she sees her baby drowned in the tub, she loses her senses and has to be

taken to an asylum. Interwoven in the story are scenes of a meeting of the peasants, the departure of recruits, and incidents at the manor house.

The theme of this story is very similar to one in Auerbach's Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten. The latter tells the story of two peasant brothers who after an argument concerning family property start to quarrel and fight so ¹⁴ that they fall from a rock into an abyss. One of the ¹⁵ brothers is killed on the spot and the other injured. However, owing to injury and mental shock, the other brother dies too, and, shortly afterwards, their aged ¹⁶ father, overcome by this double tragedy, also passes away.

Another incident which very vividly resembles a scene in Polikushka and which probably influenced Tolstoy to some extent is Auerbach's presentation of a woman's attempted suicide after she discovers that her fiance has betrayed her and, in addition, has stolen her money:

" Es wollte sich eine Freude machen und öffnete den Schrank, um die schöne Aussteuer zu betrachten, aber, o Himmel ! da war alles so zerzaust, als ob Hexen darüber gewesen wären; es griff unwillkürlich nach dem Gelde, aber - das war fort. Es schrie laut auf und plötzlich, wie feurige Pfeile so schnell, flogen ihm die Gedanken durch die Seele: der falsche Weg, den Brönnner gefahren .. das Zittern seiner Hand .. dasz es ihm nicht ausfolgen durfte .. sein langes Ausbleiben - - Mit raschen Schritten sprang Vefele an das Dachfenster und wollte sich hinausstürzen; da faszte es eine Hand von hinten, es war Melchior, der auf den Schmerzensschrei herbeigeeilt war." ¹⁷

14. Auerbach, Berthold, Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Stuttgart, 1884, Fünfter Band, Der Lehnhof, see p. 143.

15. See Ibid., p. 143.

16. See Ibid., p. 147 - 48.

17. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Erster Band, Des Schlossbauers Vefele, p. 61.

Tolstoy's Akulina, Polikushka's wife, is actuated by similar feelings which drive her to commit suicide:

"Akulina dropped the child which she was holding. 'He has hung himself!' roared the joiner's wife. Akulina - not noticing that the child, like a ball, rolled over and over on his face, and, kicking his little legs, fell head first into the water - ran to the entry. 'From the beam - he is hanging', repeated the joiner's wife, but stopped when she saw Akulina.

Akulina flew to the stairs, and, before any one could prevent her, climbed up; and with a terrible cry fell back like a dead body on the steps, and she would have been killed if the people hurrying from all directions had not been in time to seize her." 18

Auerbach took great interest in the unhappy lot of the peasant recruits who were annually sent to serve in the army. The recruiting system at that time in Germany was like the Russian one. Every village community had to send every year a certain number of young men of military age and fit for service. In the county town they were inspected by doctors and those who passed drew lots and accordingly they were conscripted or not, depending on their luck. However, the draftees were allowed to produce a substitute for military service if they could hire one for money. The whole procedure of sending recruits to town for review, going through doctors' inspection, drawing lots, and initiation of a recruit into the army is vividly presented in the very first story of Auerbach's novels. 19

Like Auerbach, Tolstoy felt an even greater interest

18. Polikushka, p. 189.

19. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Erster Band, Der Tolpatsch, see p. 12 - 16.

in the unlucky Russian peasant soldier's fate. In the Russia of that time when a recruit had been drafted into the army, he had to serve there for twenty-five years, which was practically a lifetime of soldiering. Indeed, the poor recruit's lot was not to be envied. Following the example of Auerbach, Tolstoy pictures in Polikushka²⁰ a similar procedure of drafting recruits. Tolstoy even makes an addition to Auerbach's scenes. He presents the hiring of a substitute and the latter's taking a pathetic leave before joining the army.²¹ Tolstoy's peasants are very naive, just like Auerbach's woman who prays that the reigning Prince might die and her deserter son might get^e thus a reprieve.²² In Polikushka the recruits and their kin hope somehow to be disqualified by the board of drafters or to bribe a doctor and thus get away.²³

According to Auerbach the German peasants are very conservative, strongly set in their ways. The best example of this is found in the story where the district head official tries to forbid the peasants to carry axes, a local custom in the region. By carrying their axes they were believed to deforest the area, wilfully and indiscriminately.²⁴ However, the Black Forest peasants, far

20. Polikushka, see p. 177 - 180.

21. See Ibid., p. 210 - 17.

22. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Sechster Band, Barfuszele, see p. 89.

23. Polikushka, see p. 177.

24. Schwarzwälder Dorfg., Erster Band, Befehlerles, see p. 96.

from being intimidated by such a bylaw, win their own way when, with their axes, they invade the official's premises and force him to revoke his order.²⁵ Thus the stubbornness of the peasants keeps this harmful custom alive.

Tolstoy tries to present the Russian peasants in a somewhat similar light. As individuals they look timid, weak-willed, and obedient. As a group they act with courage, even with temerity, and for nothing in the world would they depart from the beaten paths of custom. Their conservatism Tolstoy showed when he drew a picture of Prince Nekhliudoff's serfs who refuse to undergo a reform for their own good and instead prefer to continue ²⁶ their lives in the utmost poverty. In Polikushka, undoubtedly under the influence of Auerbach, he again concerns himself with Russian peasants as a body. Like the German novelist in Befehlerles, Tolstoy presents a meeting of the adult male population of the village in the overseer's office in order to decide whom they must send as recruits to town.²⁷ The meeting is a stormy one and it is with difficulty that the overseer can keep order.

Another of Tolstoy's works, his novel The Cossacks, also reflects the influence of Auerbach. In it we find a

25. Befehlerles, see p. 92 - 102.

26. See A Russian Proprietor.

27. Polikushka, see p. 162 - 171.

large number of traits for which Tolstoy is indebted to Rousseau as well as to Auerbach, for the spheres of influence of both frequently overlap. One would be apt usually to give Rousseau more credit for such influence, since Tolstoy read his works before he read those of Auerbach. However, in a number of cases on the basis of evidence I would definitely attribute this influence to Auerbach, Rousseau being rather more concerned with the philosophical aspect than with the presentation of rural life.

In the old man Yeroshka of The Cossacks there is something of Auerbach's Fiddler in the story Der Geigerlex. The Fiddler is an old man but, like Yeroshka, very healthy and a consummate drunkard and rogue. He plays his fiddle in the village inn so persistently and so long that he
28
manages to marry the landlady. His philosophy of life is very similar to that professed by Yeroshka. What he wants in this life is the enjoyment of the things that are given to man. His views on life are as follows:

" Macht euch nichts aus dem Leben, und es kann euch nichts anhaben; schaut euch alles wie eine Narretei an, und ihr seid die Gescheitesten; und gibt's noch auf der andern Welt eine Nachkirchweihe, so tanzen wir sie auch mit ! Wenn die Welt immer lustig wär', nichts thät' als arbeiten und tanzen, da brauchte man keine Schullehrer, nicht schreiben und lesen lernen, keine Pfarrer, und - mit Verlaub zu sagen, auch keine Beamte. - Die ganze Welt ist eine grosse Geige, die Saiten sind aufgespannt, der lustige Herrgott verstünde es schon, darauf zu spielen, aber er musz immer an den Schrauben am Hals - das sind die Herren Pfarrer und Beamten - drehen und drücken, und

28. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Fünfter Band, Der Geigerlex, see p. 210.

es ist alles nichts als ein Probieren und Stimmen, und der Tanz will nie losgehen." 29

A character of one of Auerbach's stories comes out with the phrase:

" Und am Ende - zwei Schritt Erde, ein vergessener Hügel, der bald wieder der Fläche gleich wird." 30

This statement is familiar to us already. It is Yeroshka's philosophy in The Cossacks who says:

" You will die and the grass will grow over you." 31
 Perhaps Auerbach's character does not discard the belief in future life, as Yeroshka does, but the phrase itself is a very similar one and indicates Tolstoy's borrowing from Auerbach in this respect.

Auerbach's characters consider peasants' work as something higher and more important than that of other classes of society. His painter Reinhard observes the peasants working and eating lunch in the field and his soul yearns for peacefulness and simplicity of their life:

" Als er hier die arbeitenden Bauern betrachtete, zog der Gedanke durch seine Seele: wie glücklich sind diese Menschen in der Stetigkeit ihrer Arbeit. Sie wissen nichts von Stimmungen und Zwiespältigkeiten des Berufs, ihre Arbeit ist so fest und unausgesetzt, wie das ewige Schaffen der Natur, der sie dienen. Wär' ich ein Bauer, ich wäre glücklich." 32

29. Geigerlex, p. 209.

30. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Zweiter Band, Straflinge, p. 191.

31. The Cossacks, p. 75.

32. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Dritter Band, Die Frau Professorin, p. 31.

and now I wonder are we not all more like animals than we are like people? We have only one life to live and we are not here to waste it.

It is a good thing to have a good attitude, but it is also important to have a good attitude towards others.

It is important to have a good attitude towards others, but it is also important to have a good attitude towards ourselves.

It is important to have a good attitude towards others, but it is also important to have a good attitude towards ourselves.

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It is important to have a good attitude towards others, but it is also important to have a good attitude towards ourselves.

The above passage strengthened Tolstoy's conviction developed by Rousseau's statement in Emile that the peasant class is of fundamental importance in society.³³ It also influenced him to present the hero of The Cossacks, Olyenin, always watching and admiring the Cossacks working in the field and desiring to become a simple Cossack himself in order to enjoy a healthy, joyful, and uncomplicated life in nature.³⁴

In one of Auerbach's stories we find a set of phrases setting forth the wisdom of a certain Adolf Lederer. Among other ideas there is in it a statement which says:

"Der Ackerbau ist die Wurzel aller Bildung in der Welt, aber die Ackerbauer selber haben die wenigste Frucht davon. Musz das so sein ? "³⁵

This idea corroborated Tolstoy's views on social problems the interest in which he inherited from Rousseau's teachings in Les Origines de l'Inégalité and Le Contrat Social.³⁶ In his later years Tolstoy built his whole philosophy on such ideas when he became the champion of the peasants.

In addition there are in Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten some scenes and descriptions which, one can believe, had an influence on the form of The Cossacks. Auerbach, who was concerned with the life of the Black Forest peasants liked to picture scenes from village festivals, dances, cele-

33. See p. 46.

34. The Cossacks, see p. 136 - 37.

35. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Zweiter Band, Der Lauterbacher, p. 76.

36. See p. 20 and 38.

brations, in the inns and elsewhere. A beautiful description of village customs with young folks we find in the story Tonele mit der gebissenen Wange. Other examples of country songs and usages on special occasions are pictured in the novel Ivo der Hairle.³⁷³⁸

In The Cossacks, folk customs, songs, and the games of young people are often described. Tolstoy also liked to place in his novels pictures of rural life not only in its sad, melancholy moments but in times of joy and recreation too. A whole chapter is dedicated in The Cossacks to the description of a gay Sunday night festival when girls and boys in national garb perform dances, games, and sing songs.³⁹ The description of this festivity very vividly resembles similar scenes from German peasant life as depicted by Auerbach.

The soldier life of Russian peasants which Tolstoy presents under the influence of Auerbach is found not only in Polikushka. The Caucasian tale Wood-Cutting Expedition is an intimate picture of Tolstoy's study of the life of the peasant soldier. Several types of soldiers are observed and described with reference to their background and their behaviour in the army.⁴⁰ Auerbach's scenes from soldiers' life are little different. They are

37. Schwarzwalder Dorfgeschichten, Erster Band, Tonele mit der gebissenen Wange, see p. 75.
 38. Schwarzwalder Dorf., Erster B., Ivo der Hairle, see p. 217 - 222 and 23⁴ - 37.
 39. The Cossacks, see Chapter XXXVIII.
 40. Wood-Cutting Expedition, see Chapter III.

41

painted not without a touch of humour. However the similarity ^{between} in the two authors is quite evident.

Among Tolstoy's tales written during his early literary career there is one of an autobiographical nature which is very interesting. On his return from the Caucasus in 1854 Tolstoy spent a fearful night on the steppes in a blizzard. ⁴² Two years later at the time when he was reading Auerbach's Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten the idea came to him to exploit this incident and thus he wrote a tale, Lost on the Steppe or The Snowstorm, which was published ⁴³ in March 1856. Auerbach tells a beautiful story about ⁴⁴ a child lost in the woods and in the snow. It is probable that while reading this story Tolstoy was influenced to recreate a similar one from his own experience. There are parallel passages in the two stories.

Joseph im Schnee is a sentimental story of a little boy, Joseph, who on a winter evening goes out into the woods to meet his father on his way home. He gets lost in the snow and the whole village is alarmed for his safety. Search parties are organized and they finally find him quite safe in another village. Meanwhile during the search the women gather at Joseph's mother's trying to sooth her anguish. One of the women, a seamstress, tells a fantastic

41. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Fünfter Band, Der Vier-eckig oder die amerikanische Kiste, see p. 170 - 71.

42. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 131.

43. Ibid., p. 131.

44. Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, Siebenter Band, see Joseph im Schnee.

story of getting lost in the woods and the snow, inter-⁴⁵
woven with incredible dreams, visions, and happenings.

It is probably this incident of dreams which reminded Tolstoy of his experiences during the memorable winter night in 1854. In The Snowstorm he describes how he was riding a sleigh in the night, how there arose a fearful blizzard, how neither the driver nor the horses could find the way to the nearest human abode, and how he, being very warmly dressed, fell asleep and woke up again a few times seeing in his dreams fantastic scenes.⁴⁶

Auerbach's influence on Tolstoy expands, not specifically but generally, on the latter's presentation of peasant life and work, of peasant characters and on the description of nature in all her aspects. In Auerbach one can find many masterfully executed pictures of nature.⁴⁷

Also peasants' work is vividly presented. Peasants' life and their characters form Auerbach's main matter of concern in Schwarzwalder Dorfgeschichten. The philosopher Rousseau gave Tolstoy general ideas of rural life and inspired in him the love towards peasants but Auerbach influenced him particularly in providing actual descriptions.⁴⁸

On the whole, Tolstoy's scenes pertaining to country

45. Joseph im Schnee, see p. 70 - 79.

46. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XII, The Snowstorm, see Chapter VI and Chapter VIII.

47. Barfüszele, see p. 82 and 87.

48. See Ibid., p. 83 and Ivo der Hajarle, Chapter 5.

life have a great deal in common with those of Auerbach. Like Auerbach, he presents his country folk in happy scenes of healthy rural life as in The Cossacks, and in gloomy, heart-rending tragic moments as in Polikushka. Like the German novelist, he tries to penetrate into the mind of peasants in order to understand their behaviour.

Auerbach's ideas concerning the education of children played an important role in establishing the Yasno-Poliania school. Tolstoy told Auerbach during their meeting in Berlin of his school and how much he was indebted to his inspiration. ⁴⁹ In his diary he noted with special emphasis that Auerbach was a most delightful man. ⁵⁰ Auerbach was also pleased with his strange and impetuous visitor. He wrote to a friend:

"Count Leo Tolstoy visited me two days ago. I experienced spiritual joy upon beholding such an exalted nature as this man's." ⁵¹

The importance of Auerbach's influence on Tolstoy, considering the sphere of the latter's interests, is thus seen to be great. Tolstoy found a kindred spirit in Auerbach, and both men were interested in the life of peasants. It was Auerbach who developed Tolstoy's interest in matters pertaining to the country, an interest inspired by Rousseau. This influence, great as it was during Tolstoy's early years, grew still stronger later on when he occupied himself predominantly with the peasant question.

49. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 190.

50. Ibid., p. 191.

51. Ibid., p. 191.

CHAPTER IX

GOETHE



Tolstoy liked to read the works of the greatest of German authors Johann Wolfgang Goethe. He read him early in youth and, later on, when he had become an author himself, he maintained his interest in the poet. After his return from Sevastopol he perused Goethe's Sorrows of Young Werther.¹ A year later he devoted his time to Wilhelm Meister and to the poems, among which he particularly liked Wilkommen und Abschied.² Next year he read Goethe's Faust.³

During his travels to Europe he went through Eisenach and Weimar,⁴ where he stopped for a few days to visit Goethe's house.⁵ At that time he also mentioned that among the books he read Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea had a "very great influence"⁶ upon him.

The influence of Goethe upon Tolstoy during his early period is noticeable in the presentation of scenes of nature, sentimentality of young lovers, views on art and artists, and in a number of details. However, taking into consideration the various aspects of this influence, one has to bear in mind that Tolstoy usually tried to interpret realistically Goethe's romantic elements.

The following example may serve to show how greatly was Tolstoy indebted to Goethe for his descriptions of nature. During his travels to Western Europe Tolstoy wrote

1. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 117.
2. Ibid., p. 138 footnote.
3. Ibid., p. 158.
4. Ibid., p. 163 footnote.
5. Ibid., p. 188.
6. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 112.

in his Travel Notes:

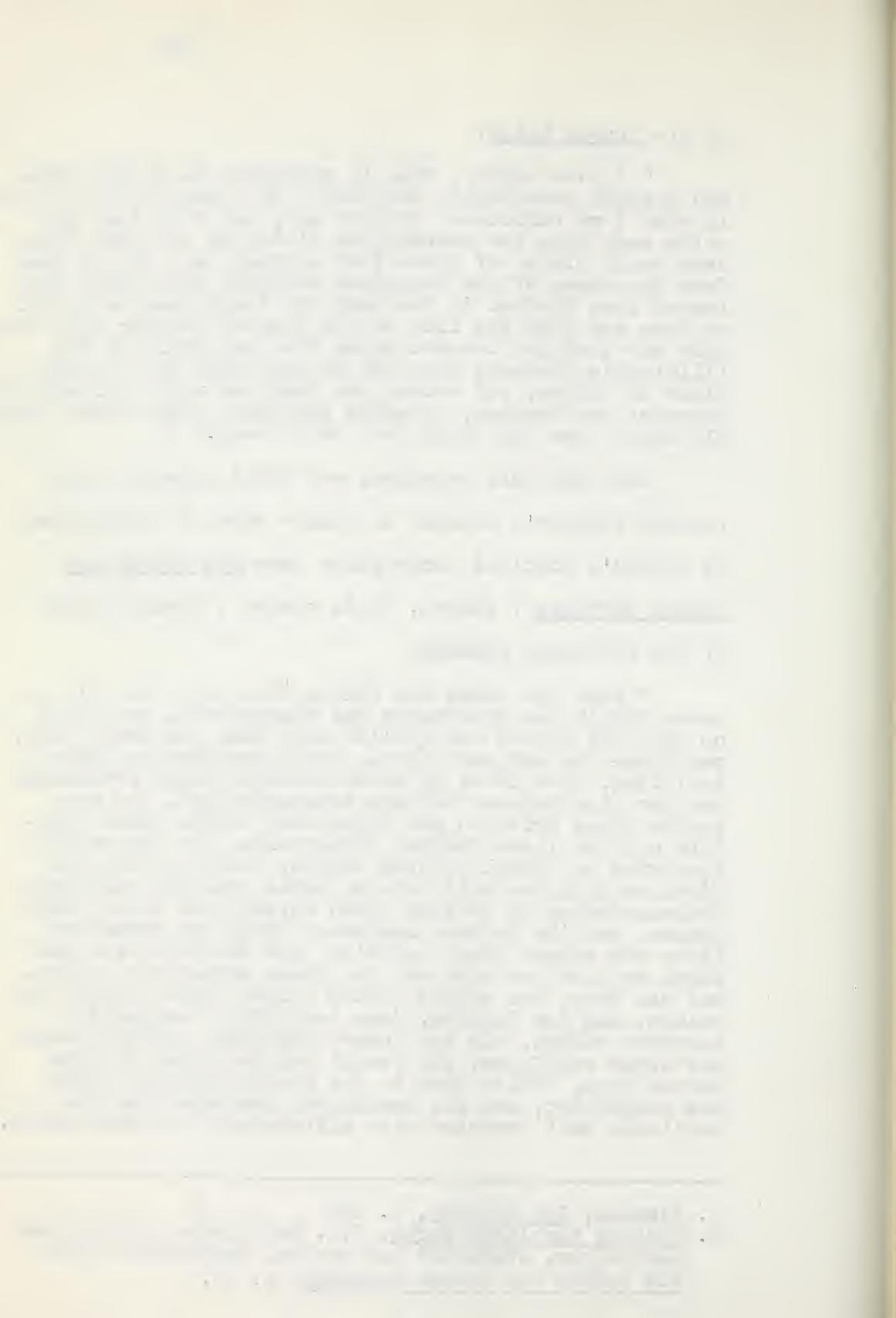
" I love nature, when it surrounds me on all sides and extends unendingly, and when I am a part of it. I love it when I am surrounded by warm air, and when that air rolls away into the measureless distance; and when those same sappy blades of grass that I crush as I sit on them form the green of the boundless meadows; when those same leaves that flutter in the wind run their shadows across my face and form the line of the distant forest; when the same air that you breathe makes the deep azure of the illimitable heavens; when you do not exult and rejoice alone in nature, but around you buzz and whirl myriads of insects; and beetles, clinging together, creep about, and all around you the birds pour forth song." 7

Does not this melodious and vivid passage which reveals Tolstoy's kinship to nature show an indebtedness to Goethe's poetical description from Die Leiden des jungen Werthers ? Indeed, it is almost a transcription of the following passage:

" Wenn ich sonst vom Felsen über den Fluszbis zu jenen Hügeln das fruchtbare Tal überschaute, und alles um mich her keimen und quellen sah; wenn ich jene Berge, vom Fusze bis auf zum Gipfel, mit hohen dichten Bäumen bekleidet, jene Täler in ihren mannigfaltigen Krümmungen von den lieblichsten Wältern beschattet sah, und der sanfte Fluszbis zwischen den lispelnden Rohren dahin gleitete und die lieben Wolken abspiegelte, die der sanfte Abendwind am Himmel herüber wiegte; wenn ich dann die Vögel um mich den Wald beleben hörte, und die Millionen Mückenschwärme im letzten roten Strahle der Sonne mutig tanzen, und ihr letzter zuckender Blick den summenden Käfer aus seinem Grase befreite, und das Schwirren und Weben um mich her mich auf den Boden aufmerksam machte, und das Moos, das meinem harten Felsen seine Nahrung abzwingt, und das Geniste, dasz dendürren Sandhügel hinunter wächst, mir das innere glühende, heilige Leben der Natur eröffnete: wie faszt' ich das alles in mein warmes Herz, fühlte mich in der überfließenden Fülle wie vergöttert, und die herrlichen Gestalten der unendlichen Welt bewegten sich allbelebend in meiner Seele." 8

7. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 153.

8. Goethes Sämtliche Werke, J.G. Cottaische Buchhandlung Nachfolger, Stuttgart und Berlin, Sechzehnter Band, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, p. 57.



There is another passage of Die Leiden des jungen Werthers which undoubtedly played an important role as Tolstoy's model for loving and picturing nature. Besides its beauty the following passage reveals Goethe's personal unity with nature, which is for him the impersonation of God:

" Wenn das liebe Tal um mich dampft, und die hohe Sonne an der Oberfläche der undurchdringlichen Finsternis meines Waldes ruht, und nur einzelne Strahlen sich in das innere Heiligtum stehlen, ich dann im hohen Grase am fallenden Bache liege, und näher an der Erde tausend mannigfaltige Gräschchen mir merkwürdig werden; wenn ich das Wimmeln der kleinen Welt zwischen Halmen, die unzähligen, unergründlichen Gestalten der Würmchen, der Mückchen näher an meinem Herzen fühle, und fühle die Gegenwart des Allmächtigen, der uns nach seinem Bilde schuf, das Wehen des Allliebenden, der uns in ewiger Wonne schwebend trägt und erhält; mein Freund ! wenn's dann um meine Augen dämmert, und die Welt um mich her und der Himmel ganz in meiner Seele ruhn wie die Gestalt einer Geliebten - dann sehn' ich mich oft und denke: ach könntest du das wieder ausdrücken, könntest du dem Papier das einhauchen, was so voll, so warm in dir lebt, dasz es würde der Spiegel deiner Seele, wie deine Seele ist der Spiegel des unendlichen Gottes. " 9

Under the influence of Rousseau and that of Goethe, Tolstoy likes to reproduce similar scenes, as he does in Youth, where young Irteneff, like Werther, spends hours contemplating nature, its beauty, and his kinship with her. There is always the same feeling with Nikolyenka Irteneff as with Werther: to hide in a recess and to be alone with nature. The following passage clearly represents the Wertherian spirit of love for nature and unity with her. Nikolyenka, when contemplating the beauty of his garden,

undergoes the same experiences as Werther lying in the grass:

"A certain new, exceedingly powerful, and pleasant sensation penetrated my soul all at once. The wet earth, through which, here and there, bright green spears of grass with yellow stalks pushed their way; the rivulets, sparkling in the sun, and whirling along little clods of earth and shavings; and reddening twigs of syringa with swollen buds which undulate just beneath the window; the anxious twittering of the birds thronging this bush; the blackish hedge wet with the melted snow: but chiefly the damp, fragrant air and cheerful sun - spoke to me intelligibly, clearly, of something new and very beautiful, which, though I cannot reproduce it as it told itself to me, I shall endeavor to repeat as I received it; everything spoke to me of beauty, happiness, and virtue, said that both were easy and possible to me, that one could not exist without the other, and even the beauty, happiness, and virtue are one and the same." 10

Of course, the above description is not of mountains and valleys to correspond in landscape with Goethe's passages mentioned above, but the feeling toward nature is the same in both cases. The beauty of mountains does find a place in Tolstoy's descriptions. A beautiful example of it indicating the influence of Goethe's pictures can be found in The Invaders:

"Directly in front of us, against the dark blue of the horizon, with startling distinctness appeared the dazzling white, silent masses of the snow-capped mountains with their marvelous shadows and outlines exquisite even in the smallest details. Crickets, grasshoppers, and a thousand other insects were awake in the tall grass, and filled the air with their sharp, incessant clatter; it seemed as if a numberless multitude of tiny bells were jingling in our very ears. The atmosphere was fragrant with waters, with foliage, with mist; in a word, had all the fragrance of a beautiful early summer morning." 11

10. Youth, p. 207.

11. The Invaders, p. 7.

the soil, and the soil was then treated with the various treatments. The treatments were applied in the following manner: (1) The first treatment was a 100% application of the 100% superphosphate. (2) The second treatment was a 100% application of the 50% superphosphate. (3) The third treatment was a 100% application of the 25% superphosphate. (4) The fourth treatment was a 100% application of the 10% superphosphate. (5) The fifth treatment was a 100% application of the 5% superphosphate. (6) The sixth treatment was a 100% application of the 2% superphosphate. (7) The seventh treatment was a 100% application of the 1% superphosphate. (8) The eighth treatment was a 100% application of the 0.5% superphosphate. (9) The ninth treatment was a 100% application of the 0.25% superphosphate. (10) The tenth treatment was a 100% application of the 0.125% superphosphate. (11) The eleventh treatment was a 100% application of the 0.0625% superphosphate. 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In another passage Tolstoy describes the beauty of nature in the moonlight, his dreams of a fascinating young woman with his sentimental longing after happiness and bliss. The passage has something romantic in it and is intermingled with the sentimentalism of Sterne. It also resembles so much Goethe's descriptions from Die Leiden des jungen Werthers mentioned before that it proves too the latter's influence on Tolstoy:

" And then 'she' appeared, with a long black braid of hair, a swelling bosom, always sad and very beautiful, with bare arms and voluptuous embraces. She loved me, and for one moment of her love I sacrificed my whole life. But the moon rose higher and higher, brighter and brighter, in the sky; the gorgeous gleam of the pond, swelling like a sound, became clearer and clearer; the shadows grew blacker and blacker, the light more and more transparent; and as I looked upon and listened to it all, something told me that 'she' with her bare arms and fiery embrace was far, very far from being the whole of happiness, that love for her was far, very far from being all of bliss; and the more I gazed upon the high, full moon, the more and more lofty, the purer and purer, the nearer and nearer to Him, to the source of all beauty and bliss, did true beauty and bliss seem to me; and tears of an unsatisfied but agitated joy rushed to my eyes." 12

The portrayal of Olyenin's love for Maryanka in The Cossacks has in it many elements of Werther's love for Charlotte and of Wilhelm Meister's for Mariana. Goethe was a great master to picture the experiences of young people in love, and his models contributed greatly to influence the young Tolstoy in his treatment of love.

Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers is a masterful picture of feelings, pain, anguish, and despair in

an unfortunate young lover. The whole book presents Werther's ardent love for Charlotte, whom he cannot marry since she belongs to his friend. The history here is somewhat similar to that in Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloïse, only the reason for Werther's not being able to have Charlotte is not the class difference, as in Rousseau, but simply because she was betrothed to another man before Werther knew her.

Olyenin's almost romantic love for the Cossack girl Maryanka in its phases closely resembles the succession of Werther's feelings. At first he is only slightly infatuated ^{with} ₁₃ in her and watches her passing by through the window. Then he becomes better acquainted with her and the feeling comes that he thinks he might fall in love ₁₄ with her. Olyenin falls in love with Maryanka and becomes jealous because she is to become the wife of the Cossack boy Lukashka. ₁₅ Finally he realizes that his love is a very deep one and in a letter to his friends in Moscow he expresses his feelings as follows:

" To-day I came back. I have seen her, have seen her khata (cabin), Uncle Yeroshka, the snow-capped mountains from my porch, and such a strong novel sense of joy came over me because I understood it all ! 'I love this woman with genuine love, I love for the first and only time in my life. I know what is in my heart. I have no fear of degrading myself by this feeling; I am proud of it.

I am not to blame that I am in love. It came about against my will. I tried to escape from it in self-re-

13. The Cossacks, see p. 120.

14. See Ibid., p. 134.

15. See Ibid., p. 156.

nunciation; I imagined that I was glad in the Cossack Lukashka's love for Maryanka, and I merely exasperated my love and my jealousy. This is not an ideal, a so-called 'exalted' love, such as I have experienced before; neither is it the feeling of attraction, by which a man is drawn toward his love, by which he finds in his own heart the fountain of his affections, and has everything under his own control. I have experienced this also. It is still less a desire for bliss; it is something quite different.

Perhaps in her I love Nature, the personification of all that is beautiful in Nature; but I have lost my power of will, and through me the elemental power, the universe of God, loves her; all Nature imprints this love into my soul, and says, 'Love !' I love her not with my intellect, not with my imagination, but with my whole being. In loving her, I feel that I am an inseparable part of all God's happy world." 16

The above passage clearly shows how Olyenin's tender and at the same time extremely strong feeling of love for Maryanka is closely associated with his love of nature.

Both feelings indicate the influence of Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers on the author. Werther's love for Charlotte is of the same kind. Every day he falls more and more deeply in love with her and he gets drunk with it as with poison so that he can no longer control his feelings. 17 Lotte becomes as essential to him as the air he breathes: he cannot live without her; therefore being 18 unable to have her, he must die.

Almost the same is true of Olyenin. He grows desperate. He cries:

" Maryana, I am beside myself ! I am not my own master ! Whatever you bid me do I will obey." 19

16. The Cossacks, p. 164 - 65.

17. Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, see p. 100.

18. Ibid., p. 135 - 37.

19. The Cossacks, p. 168.

Then his feelings toward her are so strong that he becomes desperate:

"Yes, only when she is wholly mine shall we understand each other. For such love no words are needed, but life is needed, and the whole of life. To-morrow all will be made clear. I cannot live longer this way ..." 20

But Olyenin is a realist and, luckily for him, on the next day there is a sudden attack by the mountaineers and Olyenin goes on the expedition against them, leaving the village. In the fight with the tribesmen Maryanka's betrothed is seriously wounded and she does not want to listen to Olyenin's paroxysms of suffering. ²¹ She is not such a sensitive creature as Charlotte or Rousseau's Julie; she is a peasant girl and she does not understand Olyenin.

Some aspects of Olyenin's love for Maryanka are similar to those of Wilhelm for Mariana. Wilhelm Meister loves her with all his heart, but he has the soul of an artist, his interests are in the field of the theater. He begins to doubt whether she will make him a good wife, since she does not have the same inclination toward art as he has.

Olyenin sees the great difference between his intellectual interests and those of the simple peasant girl and he tries to revise his attitude toward her. In his letter he writes:

20. The Cossacks, p. 187.

21. See Ibid., p. 195.

" After a birthday party, when I spent the evening with her and touched her, I was conscious that between me and this woman existed an indissoluble though invisible bond, against which it was impossible to struggle.

But still I struggled; I said to myself, 'Is it possible for me to love this woman, who could never appreciate the intellectual interests of my life ? Would it be possible to love a woman for her beauty alone, to love a woman- statue ?' This was what I asked myself, but I was already loving her, although I did not believe in my own feeling." 22

Goethe's novel Wilhelm Meister exercised a considerable influence on Tolstoy's story Albert, which is a short but very deep and emotional story of a consummate musician whom society could not understand. In this work Tolstoy also presents his conception of art and artists.

Goethe's Wilhelm Meister deals with the life and experiences of a young man of the rich merchant class who has the soul of an artist. From his early childhood Wilhelm is infatuated with the theater. He begins with a pantomime show and later on he tries to organize a large troupe of actors who would become the founders of the German theater. But his father does not understand the lofty feelings of his son's soul. He wishes his son would rather occupy himself with business than with unprofitable art. But Wilhelm's spirit drives him about the country in the hope of satisfying his heart's desire.

Still more than Wilhelm, Tolstoy's violinist, Albert, is an artist. Playing his violin is to him more important

than anything in the world. He is a very talented young man who can bewitch his listeners with his playing. Unfortunately, being an artist he is also a bohemian, an incurable addict to alcohol. A rich patron tries to cure Albert of his bad habits, but not understanding the soul of an artist who wants to be completely free, he fails to accomplish it.

Wilhelm is deeply impressed with dramas he has seen performed by the theater. He keeps thinking about them at all times, especially about Shakespeare's Hamlet. Once, still under the impression of the play, Wilhelm begins to have visions. The ghost of his father in the old King of Denmark's disguise, as in Hamlet, appears to him and gives him a message.

Like Wilhelm, Tolstoy's Albert has visions. Inflamed by the quarrel with his patron and by wine he leaves the house of his protector and in the dead of night goes toward the opera house in which he used to play so often. He is so occupied with thoughts about art, artists, and music that in front of the building he has a vision of the opera orchestra gathered on a lofty platform. Among them he sees his friends and a rich lady with whom he used to be in love.

23. Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Achtzenter Band, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, see p. 256 - 59.

24. See Ibid., p. 258 - 59.

25. Tolstoi, Complete Works, vol. XIII, Albert, see Chapter VII.

26. See Ibid., Chapter VII.

During this vision Albert hears his friend Petroff discuss art and the artist. The points which Petroff expresses are the views of the author himself. He says:

"Art is the highest manifestation of power in man. It is given only to the favored few, and it lifts the chosen to such an eminence that the head swims, and it is hard to preserve its integrity. In art, as in every struggle there are heroes who bring all under subjection to them, and perish if they do not attain their ends." 27

The above passage and the point of the story seems to be influenced considerably by Goethe's ideas in Wilhelm Meister. Wilhelm and his friend Werner quite often discuss the subject of poetry and poets. In one of their discussions Wilhelm says:

"Wenn der Weltmensch in einer abzehrenden Melancholie über groszen Verluszt seine Tage hinschleicht oder in ausgelassener Freude seinem Schicksale entgegengeht, so schreitet die empfängliche, leichtbewegliche Seele des Dichters, wie die wandelnde Sonne, von Nacht zu Tag fort, und mit leisen Übergängen stimmt seine Harfe zu Freude und Leid. Eingeboren auf dem Grund seines Herzens, wächst die schöne Blume der Weisheit hervor, und wenn die andern wachend träumen und von ungeheuren Vorstellungen aus allen ihren Sinnen geänstiget werden, so lebt er den Traum des Lebens als ein Wachender, und das Seltенste, was geschieht, ist ihm zugleich Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Und so ist der Dichter zugleich Lehrer, Wahrsager, Freund der Götter und der Menschen. Wie! willst du, dasz er zu einem kümmerlichen Gewerbe heruntersteige? Er, der wie ein Vogel gebaut ist, um die Welt zu überschweben, auf hohen Gipfeln zu nisten und seine Nahrung von Knospen und Früchten, einen Zweig mit dem andern leicht verwechselnd, zu nehmen, er sollte zugleich wie der Stier am Pfluge ziehen, wie der Hund sich auf eine Fährte gewöhnen, oder vielleicht gar, an die Kette geschlossen, einen Meierhof durch sein Bellen sichern?" 28

Society completely miunderstands the artist. It

27. Albert, p. 147.

28. Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Siebzehnter Band, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, p. 91 - 92.

judges and measures him according to laws and customs accepted by it while he is an altogether different being who should be estimated from an artistic point of view. To the people it seems that Albert is a worthless bohemian, alcoholic, a vagabond. He does not resemble any well-balanced decent man of society because his artistic soul recognizes different values and striving for these values he becomes different from other people. The artist will be valuable only when he dedicates himself freely to his own art; forcing him to do something else will destroy his artistic talent and will make him miserable. He must follow his inclinations even if in pursuing them he has to renounce his personal life and happiness.

Another instance of Tolstoy's being influenced by Goethe is his description of the Cossack girl Maryanka in The Cossacks. Olyenin sees in her perfect feminine beauty, health, and strength as Goethe's Hermann perceives similar qualities in Dorothea. Hermann notices the girl for the first time when she is driving a cart harnessed with oxen. It is a beautiful picture as Goethe describes it:

"Als ich nun meines Weges die neue Strasze hinanfuhr,
 Fiel mir ein Wagen ins Auge, von tüchtigen Bäumen gefüget,
 Von zwei Ochsen gezogen, den grössten und stärksten des
 Auslands,
 Nebenher aber ging mit starken Schritten ein Mädchen,
 Lenkte mit langem Stabe die beiden gewaltigen Tiere,
 Trieb sie an und hielt sie zurück, sie leitete klüglich." 29

29. Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Sechster Band, Hermann und Dorothea, p. 166.

Olyenin catches the first glimpses of Maryanka in a similar situation but Tolstoy's description of the girl is more detailed one:

" It was about eight o'clock in the morning. In front of the gate they met an arba (cart) drawn by oxen. Marya, her face enveloped to the eyes in a white kerchief, wearing a beshmet (jacket) over her shirt, and with boots on, and with a long stick in her hand, was guiding the oxen by a cord attached to their horns." 30

Hermann is in love with the beautiful, strong Dorothea. He admires the tall, well formed, graceful figure of the young woman:

" So bewegte vor Hermann die liebliche Bildung des Mädchens Sanft sich vorbei und schien dem Pfad ins Getreide zu folgen. Aber er fuhr aus dem staunenden Traum auf, wendete langsam Nach dem Dorfe sich zu und staunte wieder: denn wieder Kam ihm die hohe Gestalt des herrlichen Mädchens entgegen. Fest betrachtet' er sie: es war kein Scheinbild, sie war es Selber. Den gröszeren Krug und einen kleinern am Henkel Tragend in jeglicher Hand so schritt sie geschäftig zum Brunnen." 31

Similarly Olyenin is impressed by Maryanka's natural beauty and strength. He also likes to watch and to admire her. As the following passage will show Tolstoy's description is loaded with more details but the picture itself is the same as in Goethe: that of a beautiful and strong girl.

" It was a pleasure to him to see with what freedom and grace she moved about; how the pink shirt which constituted her only garment fell in artistic lines over her bosom and along her shapely legs; how she stooped over and drew up to her full height again, and how under the tightening garment the firm lines of her heaving breast

30. The Cossacks, p. 94.

31. Hermann und Dorothea, p. 209.

came into full relief; how her slender feet, shod in old red slippers, of good form still, were planted on the ground; how her strong arms, with sleeves tucked up and showing all the play of the muscles, moved the shovel, impatiently as it were, and how her deep black eyes sometimes gazed up at him." 32

Most probably the influence of Goethe on the early works of Tolstoy is not limited to the examples presented in this chapter, but ^{owing} due to the limited amount of material which would throw additional light on this question, such as Tolstoy's personal correspondence, notes, diaries, etc., I could only submit the cases which prove Tolstoy's indebtedness to Goethe by way of analogy between various passages, ideas, and descriptions of the two authors. One can add, however, that Tolstoy, like Goethe, likes to represent his various personal characteristics in different personages of his works. In the novel Youth Tolstoy is personified by Nikolyenka Irteneff, while Nikolyenka's friend, Nekhliudoff, also appears to be another "ego" of the author.³³

34

From the evidence stated in this chapter one can see that Goethe's influence on Tolstoy's early works may be considered as quite important. Goethe's descriptions and love of nature contributed greatly to strengthen and to develop further Tolstoy's feelings toward nature and his

32. The Cossacks, p. 12⁴.

33. Tolstoi, Leo, N., Romane und Erzählungen, Insel-Verlag zu Leipzig, Einleitung, p. IX.

34. Ibid., Einleitung, p. IX.

pictures of her. Furthermore, from Goethe the young Russian writer learned how to describe the behaviour and feelings of young people in love. Goethe helped him to form his conceptions of art. From his works Tolstoy drew an inspiration which helped him to perfect his literary skill.

CHAPTER X

SCHILLER

Tolstoy was not greatly influenced by the German dramatist, poet, and novelist, Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller although there are evidences that he read and liked his works.¹ He himself admitted that Schiller's drama The Robbers had a marked influence on his artistic sensibilities.² Tolstoy also agreed with Schiller that no genius can develop in solitude.³ But in the early works of Tolstoy it is hard to prove his direct indebtedness to the German author. Probably he was most interested in the dramas written in Schiller's late period when the latter was already influenced by the Romantic movement.

However there is a trait in Tolstoy's novel The Cossacks which can be traced to Schiller's drama Wilhelm Tell and for this he is indebted to the German writer. It is the description of the origin, customs, and character of the Caucasian Cossacks. In the presentation of this freedom loving folk Tolstoy closely followed Schiller's similar picture of the Swiss folk in Wilhelm Tell. The difference of description is in the point of view: Schiller sees his Swiss folk from the romantic point of view while Tolstoy gives a realistic interpretation. Schiller re-creates the glorious days of Switzerland's past. Tolstoy pictures the Caucasian Cossacks as he finds them.

1. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 105.

2. Ibid., p. 55.

3. Ibid., p. 99.

Schiller's Swiss folk live in beautiful surroundings in the mountains covered with dense forests among the scenic lakes. During his journey abroad Tolstoy did not fail to visit the country of Wilhelm Tell and traveled by boat to Küschnacht, the seat of Austrian authorities in Schiller's drama and thus the symbol of oppression for Swiss folk.⁴

The Swiss in Wilhelm Tell were lovers of freedom. According to their lore they came from the North fighting their way through with the sword and then settled in the high mountains.⁵ Since time immemorial they resented foreign domination, fought against the invaders, and managed to retain their independence. They consider their freedom as a gift from God:

"Das Haus der Freiheit hat uns Gott gegründet."⁶ 6 They value their possession of freedom and are very proud of it:

"Die andern Völker tragen fremdes Joch,
Sie haben sich dem Sieger unterworfen,
Es leben selbst in unsern Landesmarken
Der Sassen viel, die fremde Pflichten tragen,
Und ihre Knechtschaft erbt auf ihre Kinder.
Doch 'wir', der alten Schweizer echter Stamm,
Wir haben stets die Freiheit uns bewahrt.
Nicht unter Fürsten bogen wir das Knie,
Freiwillig wählten wir den Schirm der Kaiser."⁷

The Swiss scorn foreigners and even their friendly intervention:

4. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 154.

5. Schillers Werke, Meyers Klassiker-Ausgaben, Leipzig und Wien, Fünfter Band, Wilhelm Tell, see p. 337.

6. Ibid., p. 306.

7. Ibid., p. 338.

" Laszt's uns allein vollenden !
 Wären wir doch allein im Land ! Ich meine,
 Wir wollten uns schon selbst zu schirmen wissen." 8

They are determined to preserve their freedom:

" Sie sollen kommen, uns ein Joch aufzwingen,
 Das wir entschlossen sind, 'nicht' zu ertragen !" 9

and to defend it with their lives:

" Wir wollen frei sein, wie die Väter waren,
 Eher den Tod, als in der Knechtschaft leben !" 10

In respect to their origin and love of liberty the Caucasian Cossacks resemble very much the Swiss folk in Schiller's drama, and picturing these aspects Tolstoy takes Schiller as his model. They also live in a beautiful mountainous country and the feeling of freedom is inborn in them. Like the Swiss, their ancestors fled from Russia very long ago and settled beyond the river Terek in the ¹¹ Caucasus. They recognized voluntarily the Tsar who gave them a mandate for their territory, but in everything else they were completely free and not subject to the Russian authority. Their chief trait of character is ¹² love of liberty. However, they differ from the Swiss in their liking of brigandage and war, and in their lack of industriousness.

The Cossacks despise foreigners and when the Russian

8. Wilhelm Tell, p. 318.

9. Ibid., p. 327.

10. Ibid., p. 347.

11. The Cossacks, see p. 19.

12. See Ibid., p. 19.

soldiers come into their territories in order to protect them from the wild Caucasian tribesmen they look at them with scorn and suspicion although these are their blood brothers. Here is how Tolstoy presents their character:

" The Cossack is inclined to have less detestation for the mountaineer-jigit (brave) who has killed his brother than for the soldier who is quartered on him for the sake of protecting his village, but who scents up his hut with tobacco-smoke. He respects his mountain enemy; but he disdains the soldier, whom he regards as an alien oppressor." 13

Like Schiller's Swiss, the Cossacks wish that the Russians would rather leave them alone to take care of themselves. They have their own organized armed forces which, they believe, are capable of protecting them against ¹⁴ the mountaineers.

However, they are not peaceful people, like the Swiss, who fight only in defence of their freedom. The Cossacks are warlike; they find pleasure and satisfaction in the feeling of constant danger and in the frequent skirmishes with the wild tribesmen. In this respect they have much in common with the robbers presented in another drama of Schiller, Die Räuber. Indeed, one is under the impression that the scene representing the fight between the Cossacks and the Chechenian mountaineers, although realistically ¹⁵ painted, possesses some elements of Schiller's Die Räuber.

13. The Cossacks, p. 19 - 20.

14. Ibid., see Chapter IV.

15. Ibid., see Chapter XLI; also

Schillers Werke, Zweiter Band, Die Räuber, see Act II, Scene III.

Of course , this influence can only be based on the grounds of analogy in both cases.

From the above review we can see that Schiller's influence on Tolstoy is only of secondary importance and besides, ~~due~~^{owing} to the lack of supporting material already mentioned, cannot be completely and clearly defined. However, although the indebtedness of Tolstoy in his early works to Schiller might be slight, the latter does take his place among those authors under whose influence Tolstoy developed his genius.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER AUTHORS

The nine writers listed exercised the strongest influence on Tolstoy's works of his early period but besides them there were other authors in Western European literature who contributed to the development of his creative abilities. Among them were both ancient writers and relatively modern ones, French, English, German, and other. Not only authors in the literary field appealed to young Tolstoy but also those in the sphere of philosophy, economy, education, history, law, and religion. Practically he was interested in almost every aspect of human life and concerned himself with a great variety of subjects.

After his return from the University of Kazan to Yasnaia Poliana he read the literature of the Old and New Testament; the Gospel of Matthew and the Sermon on the Mount made the greatest impression on him.¹ He enjoyed reading translations of Plato's Phaedo and the Symposium,² and he plunged into Homer. The Homeric influence was quite strong and it can be detected in the novel Childhood,³ especially in the hunt scene.

In Western European literature French authors held the greatest attraction for Tolstoy. While yet a boy, he devoured a quantity of French novels by Sue, Dumas, and

1. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 33.

2. Ibid., p. 112.

3. Tolstoi, Romane und Erzählungen, Einleitung, p. XII.

4

Paul de Kock. Their fictions seemed entirely real to him, and he imagined in himself a likeness to their characters, 5 both heroes and villains.

When in Paris Tolstoy spent half of his time in omnibuses in order to amuse himself by observing the people; in every one he claimed to recognize one of Paul de Kock's 6 characters. His friend, Eugene Schuyler, was scandalized at Tolstoy's praise of that brilliant but vulgar novelist, 7 but Tolstoy had the courage of his convictions. Tolstoy said to Schuyler that according to English notions Paul 8 de Kock was improper. According to his opinion Paul de Kock was more or less what the French call "leste" and 9 "gaulois", free and coarse, but not immoral. Tolstoy considered his little loose jokes and his stories as perfectly 10 moral in tendency. In fact he called de Kock the French Dickens and believed that his characters were all drawn 11 from life, and very perfectly too.

Also in his youth Tolstoy read the Genevan sentimentalist Töpfer and his book Bibliothèque de mon Oncle 12 had a slight influence on his own novel Childhood. In the Bibliothèque de mon Oncle Töpfer describes his own

4. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 56.

5. Ibid., p. 56.

6. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 152.

7. Ibid., p. 152.

8. Ibid., p. 152.

9. Ibid., p. 152.

10. Ibid., p. 152.

11. Ibid., p. 153.

12. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, p. 64.

13

childhood, hence Tolstoy's interest in this book.

In his early diaries (1846 - 53) we find references to his attempt to compare Catherine the Great's Nakaz with the passages in Montesquieu on which she professed ¹⁴ to have based it. For this purpose he read Montesquieu's Esprit des lois and studied the works of the French statesman and historian ¹⁵ Thiers.

Later on Tolstoy read Victor Hugo's Notre Dame de Paris. ¹⁶ He also perused Voltaire, whose scepticism, perhaps because it lacked high seriousness, had no pronounced effect on him. Having read Balzac's Honorine and Cousine Bette he credited the writer with an immense talent, but he thought the introduction to the Comédie Humaine ¹⁷ shallow and self-satisfied. Dumas fils's drama La dame aux perles he viewed as written with talent but ¹⁸ filled with depravity. From 1857 to 1859 Tolstoy read ¹⁹ Rabelais' works. ²⁰

During his last journey abroad Tolstoy met in Brussels ²¹ Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the famous French socio-economist. He recognized him as a strong, independent ²² thinker who had "le courage de son opinion".

13. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 90.
14. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 12.
15. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 54.
16. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 112.
17. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 56.
18. Ibid., p. 158.
19. Ibid., p. 158.
20. Ibid., p. 158, footnote.
21. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 155.
22. Ibid., p. 155.

Proudhon's slogan that possessing private property is theft ("La propriété c'est le vol") goes somewhat beyond Tolstoy's dictum, but they were at one regarding peaceful anarchy, where every man should be restrained only by reason and conscience, and all courts, police, soldiery, and punishments should be abolished and those should eat only who earned their daily bread.²³

Of English authors Tolstoy liked mostly the novelists but he also held in great esteem the works of English philosophers and historians. In his youth he read Hume,²⁴ the famous Scottish philosopher and historian. He also read Macaulay's History of England and George Eliot's Scenes from Clerical Life and Adam Bede.²⁵ The essays of Lord Bacon attracted Tolstoy, and he read them in English.²⁶

Even as a young man he had expressed his dislike for Shakespeare's dramas, and after his religious conversion this dislike was intensified by the new demands he made upon literature in matters of morality and art.²⁷ He had always experienced feelings of repulsion, weariness,²⁸ and bewilderment on reading Shakespeare's plays. For this reason he later wrote the literary criticism On Shakespeare and the Drama.²⁹

23. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 156.

24. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 12.

25. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 163, footnote.

26. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 144.

27. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 627.

28. Ibid., p. 627.

29. Ibid., p. 627.

Tolstoy was also inspired in his youth by the notable example of Benjamin Franklin and his Franklin Journal.³⁰ He kept a kind of similar journal himself which he devoted solely to listing and appraising all his failings.³¹ Another American writer who appealed to him was Mark Twain.³² He also read in a German translation Uncle Tom's Cabin, which had aroused much interest in Europe.³³

The German philosophers early attracted the interest of Tolstoy. During his university years he plunged into Hegel, who was then all the rage among the Illuminati.³⁴ If the classical German idealists did not greatly appeal to him there was at least one German philosopher for whom he did express admiration.³⁵ He was attracted by Schopenhauer, that solitary thinker who drew a gloomy picture of the impotent human will beating desperately against the rigidly determined laws of the universe.³⁶ In his later years he translated Schopenhauer's The World as Will and Idea.³⁷

Tolstoy was particularly interested in Martin Luther, whose honesty and fearless activity and courage in breaking away from old traditions appealed to him.³⁸ He made ex-

30. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, p. 70.

31. Ibid., p. 70.

32. Ibid., p. 105.

33. Ibid., p. 105.

34. Ibid., p. 56.

35. Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox, p. 46.

36. Ibid., p. 46.

37. Polner, Tolstoy and his Wife, p. 69.

38. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 144.

cursions to various places associated with the Reformer, and after visiting the room in the castle in Wartburg where Luther in his concealment made his first attempt to translate the New Testament into German, he wrote in his diary, "Luther is great".³⁹

At Kissingen he made the acquaintance of Julius Froebel, author of The System of Social Politics.⁴⁰ Froebel called his attention to the novels and other works of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, and Tolstoy took up with keen zest Riehl's Natural History of the People as the Foundation of National Policy.⁴¹

Tolstoy watched with great interest the development of the German novel of humble life. It was in Germany, indeed, that this novel sprang into being, Gotthelf leading the way with his tales Uli the Serf and Uli the Tenant.⁴² Auerbach followed with his village stories which opened a new world of thought; Stifter and a host of others brought up the rear.⁴³

To conclude this chapter one can say that all the authors mentioned in it, with the exception of the Swiss writer Töpfer and Homer exercised only very slight influence on those literary works of Tolstoy considered in

39. Dole, The Life of Tolstoi, p. 144.

40. Ibid., p. 144.

41. Ibid., p. 145.

42. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. XXVI, p. 1055.

43. Ibid., p. 1055.

this thesis. However, in his later works some of them, especially the philosophers, economists, educationists, and the religious reformers, played an important role. In his early literary career they are important as a whole that contributed to broaden his views and ideas.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

It follows from this review of the influences of French, English, and German writers on the early works of L. N. Tolstoy that he owes a great deal to them. He finds a close association between their ideas and his own, between their feelings and his own, and between their interpretation of certain things and his own. Their importance is indeed very great, both as masters who showed him by their example in which direction he might develop his own talents, and as rich sources from which he drew a variety of material for his own use. It is no wonder that such a talented person as Tolstoy, relying upon these great masters of Western Literature, manages, even in his youth, to win fame in the literary field.

Their influence on the young Russian author was manifold. He was indebted to each of them for different things and the extent of indebtedness itself also differed in each case. In recapitulating these influences, we shall assess their relative importance in Tolstoy's early works.

Doubtless Rousseau played the greatest role in Tolstoy's literary development during this period. He influenced Tolstoy in almost every respect, in the most important aspects of his works. In addition ^{to} ~~of~~ being his model as a writer, Rousseau was his teacher and example in personal life. Rousseau was the authority to whom he always referred and from whose works he received his greatest inspiration.

Love of nature and of everything which is connected with it, resentment against everything which is indifferent to nature, like society and civilization, and finally consideration of social problems, these are the three main themes for which Tolstoy is indebted to Rousseau.

In respect to other matters which do not recur so frequently in Tolstoy's works Rousseau is the inspiration for his attitude to marriage and family life, for his love of simple country folk, for his conception of happiness and love, for his sentimentality, and for some less important biographical details.

Of the nine writers only one influenced Tolstoy negatively. The issue of disagreement between Tolstoy and George Sand was the question of the stability of family life. Tolstoy's rejoinder to Sand's novels underlined the unbreakability of family ties, the unconditional loyalty of both spouses to each other, and the rejection of free love. Thus Sand led Tolstoy to a clear formulation of ideas he had received from Rousseau.

Another writer who influenced Tolstoy in the same direction as Rousseau but to a much lesser extent was Auerbach. He served Tolstoy as a representative of a keen interest in country life. It was under his influence that Tolstoy drew his pictures of the Russian peasant as civilian and as soldier.

From Dickens Tolstoy borrowed characterizations for the personages in his works. Dickens, who is remarkable as a creator of character, appealed to him greatly. Also the autobiographical novels Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth were written under the influence of Dickens, and contain some borrowings of scenes and incidents.

Stendhal and his realistic portrayal of war in La Chartreuse de Parme stimulated Tolstoy to depict the true face of war in Sevastopol Sketches. To him he was indebted also to some extent for his presentation of adolescent dreams.

Tolstoy's war scenes owe something to Thackeray as well, from whose example he learned that by showing the reactions of various individuals to the stress of battle, one may analyse fundamental traits of character, particularly vanity. Tolstoy also borrowed from Thackeray ideas for some of his characters.

Goethe was Tolstoy's chief model for pictures of nature diffused with sentiment. His understanding of young lovers and his ability to express their feelings and experiences influenced Tolstoy in his treatment of similar problems. Also Goethe influenced him in his views on art and artists and in his description of feminine beauty.

Sterne's influence on Tolstoy is characterized by the latter's use of sentimentality, his impressionistic

way of description, his liking to dwell upon details, and in the imitation, although to no great extent, of his tricks of style.

To Schiller Tolstoy owes something for his picture of a freedom loving folk leading its life in free and beautiful natural surroundings. The image of the proud, warlike, and independent Caucasian Cossacks is taken partly from Wilhelm Tell and partly from Die Räuber, although the influence itself is not an important one.

Taking into consideration the values for which Tolstoy was indebted to the writers, philosophers, economists, reformers, historians, and other great thinkers of Western Europe one can easily explain his later universal popularity. A man of great talent, brought up on western ideas, adapting these ideas and perfecting them whenever necessary, he achieved such fame and produced such masterpieces in the literary field that he attained one of the highest places among the world's great authors. Nourished on western culture his works are of universal value and, although the majority of them deal with a typically Russian life, they are perfectly understandable and appealing to the western mind.

Many other Russian authors rivalling in genius and talent with Tolstoy have not become world famous and have only managed to occupy a high place in Russian literature. This may be explained by the fact that their works lack these

elements of the western mind; their approach and spirituality is one-sided and typically eastern and Russian. Not so Tolstoy. He always knew how to maintain an equilibrium between the eastern and western mentality because he assimilated western ways of thinking. Although in his youth he borrowed a great deal from the West-European spiritual treasury, in his rich and powerful output during his long life he repaid his debt tenfold, and in turn himself exercised and continues to exercise a strong influence on western authors.

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